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# THE RESTORER

OF THE

## Union of the United States

TO ITS

## ORIGINAL PURITY,

AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE ERRORS WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT DESTRUCTION OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY, AND THE

## REMEDY THEREFOR.

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BY SAMUEL JORDAN,  
OF ABBEVILLE DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA.

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AUGUSTA, GEORGIA:  
1866.





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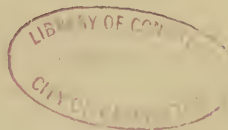
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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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The object of this work is intended to correct the errors of this age in regard to their political opinions, both South and North, and to arrest this cruel and unnatural war, and the destruction of life, liberty and property of all engaged in it, North and South. I wish, if possible, to send every soldier, North and South, back to their firesides and families, their sweet-hearts and homes; to enjoy that happiness which none of us did know, until we were deprived of it. Those who have wives and little children depending on them alone, for support and protection, must suffer most. Forced from them, and dragged into marshes and swamps to die with disease or sickness, or dragged in line of battle to be shot down by people who have no desire to hurt them, but who are forced by their officers to shoot them, or be shot by them. Each man is compelled to kill, or be killed, by some one. This is the deplorable condition in which the people, North and South, are placed by their political leaders. Now, if God will enable me, I will show to the people their true situation, and enable them to escape the awful destruction that lies before them, (for the worst has not come yet,) and restore them back under the government of their fathers in its purity, contained in the Constitution of the United States, which Lincoln and his party, and Davis and his party, have deserted, This I will show by the principles they both have acted under, a principle called "separate State sovereignty;" which principles, when examined, will be found to destroy every right and liberty secured to the people of the United States, by the provisions contained in the Constitution of the United States, and would, by this (so-called) "State sovereignty," and the principles embodied and established by their

conventions, show fully what the object of the Lincoln party and the Davis party is.

I do not draw my opinions from what the papers report, for they are only used as an instrument to deceive the people. But I draw my opinions from the principles adopted by our Southern Conventions. First, in 1832, under the plea of tariff oppression; second, in Cincinnati, under the plea of the great dangers of "Abolition majorities," pretending that their object was to protect the South against the Abolitionists; also, third, Conventions were called by those who called themselves Democrats, South and North, professing the same object; fourth, Convention by South Carolina to dissolve the Union, and separate themselves and all others in the State of South Carolina from their own government, whether the people are willing or not. They had deluded and deceived the people, making them believe that their object was to protect them against the Abolitionists of the North, and destroy the people's government and establish this (so-called) separate "State sovereignty," and called on the people to volunteer and organize themselves under military organizations, so as to be able to protect their homes, their firesides and families, against the abolition raiders of the North. But the people soon found they had to protect something else than their families and firesides. They did not know that, when those men, at the head of the army had physical numbers, they could force them into the army. Now, by what they call "Conscript law," they have dragged every man from his home, family and fireside, to support and defend *State Rights Secession*; and hence we are engaged in one of the most cruel and unnatural wars of ancient or modern times. Now, I think I can show that the principles contended for, both by Lincoln and his party, and Davis and his party, are precisely the same. If either of the two parties establish themselves under military power, the people will be under the grandest military power on the face of the globe, not excepting the African chief who kills whom he pleases, and eats whom he pleases, takes from whom he pleases, and gives to whom he pleases.

Davis and his party and Lincoln and his party both contend for State Rights sovereignty, the only difference being this:



Lincoln's party contends that by acts of States Rights sovereignty, each State has the right, by acts of legislature, and acts of majorities, to emancipate the African property; while Davis and his party claim, by acts of legislature, and of majorities, the right to emancipate the life, liberty and all the property from the people, as the legislative bodies are under no obligation, only their own will, like any king, prince or potentate. But this I will show more fully, when I explain the true, genuine provisions provided by, and for the protection and security of *life, liberty and property* to each member of the Union. And, at the same time, I will show that, under the provisions of the (so-called) "States Rights sovereignty" doctrine, the people have no security for either life, liberty or property, and that it destroys every right to liberty or property and places them at the will and mercy of legislation and acts of majorities: whereas, the object of the framers of the Constitution was, to make and provide provisions in the Constitution to protect the people in all their rights, against any acts of legislation, or acts of majorities, either by States or by Congress. This, I will attempt to show first; then show the principles couched under the name of *States Rights sovereignty*.



## The Restorer of the Union.

—:O:—

There is one error existing among the people which I wish to correct at the commencement of my *showing*. It is thought by a great many that the word *Constitution* embraces only the third addition, or what really is an amendment to the two first engagements contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation; but the word *Constitution* embraces all three of these documents, and it requires the provisions of all three to make a perfect *Union*. As proof of what I say, the provision called the *Constitution*, provides that all engagements entered into before the adoption of the *Constitution*, should be as binding against the United States as under the *Confederation*. This shows that the Declaration of Independence was still binding; as also were the Articles of Confederation, and that the word *Constitution* embraces all three of those agreements entered into. The Articles of Confederation begin thus: The style of this Confederation shall be the "United States of America." As there has been some misconstruction put on the word *State*, when the people declared their independence against the government of England, it will, perhaps, be proper to make some explanation. What are now called States, were then called colonies, and governed by the laws of England. The word *colony* then, merely embraced a boundary of territory, which was set apart to certain Lords and Governors to colonize, and settle with Protestant citizens; with a promise on the part of the king to give a certain quantity of land, according to the number of citizens. They settled in the boundaries set apart by the territory, called *Colonies*, but by us called *States*. These two words had merely reference to the boundary or territory. But when we united as one people, and formed one "National Union," the word *State* was

used, in order to include all the people within the territorial boundaries of the States. The word *State* had no reference to any political power, other than that of the people; and all agents were created by the people. Nor had they any authority in creating and adopting the Constitution of the United States as a standard of government until the people of every State gave their consent, by and through their delegates, sent by them to approve or disapprove. Neither were they bound, until they gave their consent, after they had examined the principles adopted by their delegates. But they all *did* consent, and bound themselves together as a national body, (as far as the United States boundaries were concerned,) under the following agreement: First, under the "Declaration of Independence." There we pledged our lives, our fortunes, and sacred honor to sustain each other in the *rights of independence*, which was a right to create the laws by which we were to be governed, instead of having them made by kings and monarchs. We succeeded in gaining our independence, and then renewed our engagements under the Articles of Confederation. Then we entered into a firm league of friendship with each other to support and defend each other against all attacks made against us, or any of us, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever, which covered everything which could be thought of or named. We then went on further to describe the conditions of the Union.

ART. 4th. "The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse amongst the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States (paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted,) shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress, to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants respectively; *provided*, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; *provided*, also, that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be

laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them." This shows clearly that every member of the United States, North and South, had the right secured to him to move into any State or Territory in the United States, take his property with him, and that no imposition duties or restrictions should be passed by any State to prevent him. And as no State has any power to pass an *ex post facto law*, or law impairing obligations of contracts, this provision would prevent a State from passing a law to take any right from a citizen or impair the contract that secured those rights. This shows clearly that every citizen of the United States has the right to buy any property, move into any State with it, and a right to be protected in it. For, both the Articles of the Confederation and the Constitution of the United States provides, that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States. So that, if a citizen in one State has the right to buy slave property, so has the citizens of every other State to buy slave property; and no State has the right by acts of legislation or by acts of majorities, to prevent him. For the provision in the Constitution of the United States has prohibited all States from passing *ex post facto laws*, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts. The Constitution of the United States is all the obligation of contracts that exists among the people of the United States, and is established the supreme law of the land; and every one in office throughout the United States, is bound by oath or obligation to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. This shows that no State has the power to make a constitution to prevent the citizens of any State from moving his slave property, or any other property, nor prevent his buying slave property. For, if they do, it will be passing an *ex post facto law*, and impairing the obligations of contracts. There is another provision in the Constitution which provides that "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, upon the claim of the party to whom such service or labor is due." Now, it will be seen,



that by this provision of the Constitution, no law nor regulation can be made by a State to discharge a servant or person bound to service to a citizen of another State. But if a servant or person bound to service escapes into another State, they are bound to deliver up such servant. Neither has a State any power to make any law or regulation to discharge a servant or person bound to service to a citizen of their own State. For the Constitution provides that the citizens shall be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects; and that security shall be inviolably preserved. If a State was to pass a law to dispossess a citizen of his slave property, or any other property, right or liberty, secured by any provision contained in the Constitution, it would be passing an *ex post facto law*, and a law impairing the obligation of contracts. Those are the great and important *checks* to prevent acts of legislation and acts of majorities from dispossessing themselves of all the rights, liberties and privileges secured to themselves by the provisions of the Constitution; making their own authority under the Constitution a wall which no act of legislation or act of majorities can pass over, and in this way make themselves secure in every right, liberty and privilege guaranteed in the provision of the Constitution.

Now, as we have seen by the provisions of the Constitution, that it has secured the people against all acts of legislation and acts of majorities by those important checks, let us see how Congress stands in regard to their power, which the Constitution of the United States provides. (For it seems that the security of the African property has been better secured, or as well as any other.) The Constitution provides that, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or the people." This shows clearly that Congress has no power but what is expressly named and set apart for them. A State has no power to do that which Congress has not the power to do; therefore Congress and the States are prohibited from passing *ex post facto laws*. This prohibits both legislatures and majorities from passing any law to deprive a citizen of any right already established. And as the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, all

officers are bound by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. This oath shows that it is not a union of State authorities, but a union of the people; for no officer in any State is bound to support and defend the constitution of any other State, except his own; but by his oath is bound to disregard the constitution of his own and every other State, unless it agrees with the Constitution of the United States. I may be asked where I place the right of sovereignty? I place the right of sovereignty in the *people*. All kings and monarchs who claim the right of sovereignty, claim the right to make the laws—they being sovereign, the laws they make are sovereign.

They also declare that they shall be the supreme law of the land, and by these laws they control all within the territorial jurisdiction. So we, the people, being sovereigns, created by our authority the Constitution of the United States, and declared that it should be the supreme law of the land; and we, being sovereign, the laws which we created were sovereign also. We all, throughout the United States, agreed to be governed by these laws, and to govern all others by these laws. And in this way we are governed by a written agreement of principles, and not by acts of legislation and acts of majorities. This is a government created by the Constitution—a pure *Democracy*. It is not a majority governing a minority, for that would be one party governing another party, and the party governed would have no voice in making the laws by which they were to be governed. But the government created by the Constitution of the United States, (as I have shown,) draws up a written agreement by which all agree to be governed, and to govern all others. We have not agreed to be governed by acts of legislation nor acts of majorities, but by the laws we have created ourselves. And in these laws we have prohibited all acts of legislation and acts of majorities, from taking the value of a pin from us either by Congress or by States. So that every citizen, who is a member of this Union, has the same right that any citizen of any other State has. If a citizen of any State has the right to buy African pro-

perty, so have the citizens of every other State the same right. For the Constitution of the United States and the Articles of Confederation, both provide that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the citizens in the several States.

Now, mind, the word is not "the citizens *of* the several States, but *in* the several States. So that whatever rights a citizen has in any State, the citizens of every other State have the same rights. The State has no power to prevent him, for it would be passing an *ex post facto* law and a law impairing the obligation of contracts. There is no authority for one State restricting the people of any other State from buying African property, or any other property. Every citizen of the United States has the right to decide for himself what he will buy or not buy; and no acts of legislation either of Congress or State has power to prevent him. It would be no Union if it were otherwise; for the word *union* means *one*, not *two*; but one united agreement, extending to all the members of this Union. The Constitution of the United States gives no power to acts of majorities outside of the Constitution. It has secured to the people the right to elect all officers by acts of majorities; but the officers elected have no power outside of that written agreement of principles. Those principles, established in the Constitution, rule and govern all officers and citizens, both of States and the United States. You will perhaps ask the question, is there not power in Congress, when the President vetoes the acts of Congress, and cannot Congress, by a majority of two-thirds, establish the act vetoed, as a law? I say *no*; unless it is in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This act of majorities only overrules the veto of the President. But, if this law, passed by two-thirds, overrule the veto of the President, the Constitution has provided a check against acts of majorities by providing that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases of law and equity, arising under this Constitution, in all cases wherein the United States shall be a party. Now, in this case, the United States is a party, and if any one objects to such a law, as being unconstitutional, they have the right to bring the case into that court, and pronounce such a law uncon-



stitutional, null and void, and no law. You will say: does this make the Judges sovereigns? I say *no*; for the Judges are only agents of the people, and appointed by the people as a check against illegal legislation. Legislators may err as well as others. He is a very wise man that never errs, and a very good man that never does wrong. So it was necessary that a court should be appointed to decide on the acts of legislators.

As there has been so much pains taken by the framers of the Constitution to prohibit and restrict them within the bounds of the Constitution, and as the object of all government *is*, and *ought to be*, to appoint courts and juries, to protect right against wrong, so the people appointed this court as a protector of their rights, liberties and privileges secured to themselves in the Constitution of the United States, against all acts of legislation and acts of majorities, passed by our agents, binding them at the same time by oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. So they cannot be called sovereigns, but agents. They are not left to exercise their own will, but are bound by oath to decide according to the constitutionality of the case. This shows clearly that there are no sovereigns but the people, and the laws established by them in the Constitution of the United States, and such as will accord with them.

I may be asked the question, does not the Constitution of the United States give power, to a majority of three-fourths to amend the Constitution? It does; but the word *amend* does not mean to *destroy* or make weaker, but to *strengthen*, and make stronger.

All the provisions of the Constitution were created for the protection of the people in their rights.

Any amendment that would protect them better and make them more secure in their rights would be in accordance with all the other provisions of the Constitution, and would be a constitutional amendment. But any law passed under the name of an amendment, which would destroy, or take away any right, liberty or privilege, already secured by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, would be an *ex post facto law*; and would be impairing the obligation of contracts, therefore, null and void; and would be pronounced so by all wise, honest

and intelligent courts, if the case was properly argued before them. So this shows still that majorities have no power outside of the Constitution. Those provisions of the Constitution of the United States show, beyond the doubt of contradiction, that no power is given to any officer or agent, acting in the United States, outside of the Constitution of the United States, and that this Union is to be perpetual, and cannot be legally destroyed. The next question is—how are new States to be admitted into the Union? The Constitution provides that new States may be admitted into the Union by Congress. This provision of the Constitution must have reference to coming out of other governments into this Union, such as Texas, Louisiana, and Florida; for all territories belonging to the United States are already in the Union.

The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territories and other public property belonging to the United States. Now, Congress has made regulations in regard to States being admitted into the Union, coming out of a territory—"That a certain number named, settling in a territory, shall be admitted by Congress as a State." All that a territory has to do, is to give Congress satisfactory proof that they have the number of citizens in that territory, required by law, and that gives them the right to be admitted. But Congress has no power to fix the terms by which they shall be admitted—except the numbers. The Constitution has fixed the terms upon which all States shall come into the Union. That is, every one in office throughout the United States shall be bound by oath, or affirmation, that they will support and defend the Constitution of the United States. So that every State has to come into the Union under the same agreement as the rest. There is but one way for a State to come into this Union, and that is, to bind themselves to support and defend all the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which has secured to every citizen, who is a member of the United States, a right to go into any State, and take with him his property. And all States are prohibited from making any law of impositions or duties on his property, and he is se-

cure in the right of carrying his property, to and from any State, and the right to buy and own any property he chooses; and no State has the power to impair the contract which secures him in that right. For the Constitution provides "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States." Not *of* but *in* the several States. So that whatever right a citizen has in any State, the citizens of every other State has the same. There is no such thing as a State having power by *acts of majorities* or by *legislation*, or by *forming a constitution*, to prevent any citizen of the United States from buying what he pleases; and he has a right to be protected in every State and Territory in the United States, and as far as the flag of the United States sails. Now, this is the kind of government created by the Constitution of the United States; all men in office are bound to support and defend it throughout the United States..

Now, it will be seen how necessary it is for the constitution of every State to accord with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, for every officer of any and every State has to take an oath to support and defend the constitution of his own State, as well as the Constitution of the United States. If the constitution of his own State is in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, he cannot support two opposites, and must therefore perjure himself. For the oath provided by the Constitution of the United States is, that every officer throughout the United States should be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, *notwithstanding* any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. So that the oath every officer should take in regard to the constitution of their own State, should be to support and defend the constitution of their own State, so far as it accords with the Constitution of the United States; and that they would support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. This would be truly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which contains all the provisions of the Union, and no Union exists outside of it.

There has been a great deal said about the *reserved rights* of a State. If we look and see what has been prohibited to the States, we can easily see what is reserved to a State. If a State has no power to pass an *ex post facto law*, impairing the obligation of contracts, she has no power to deprive any citizen of any right secured to him, either by the Constitution of the State or the United States, nor impair the contract that secured that right. So the power reserved to a State is, that they have the power to make any law necessary to protect the citizens to the extent and boundary of their own State, (but no further,) in all the rights and liberties they have secured to themselves under the Constitution of the United States, or their own State. But they have no power to deprive them of any right, not even to the value of a pin. All rights reserved to States are reserved to the *people* of the States, and not the *Legislatures* of the States. The right reserved to people of States, in part is, to elect their officers for the State, and also all the officers to go to Congress, which are the agents of the people of the States, their own Legislatures, and fix the term of time they shall hold their office, and appoint by themselves, and in their authority under the constitution, the manner in which they shall be appointed; to transact all their domestic affairs of the State; appoint magistrates, sheriffs, constables, and all other necessary officers, and many other things not necessary to name. Those things are reserved to the States to manage for themselves. But every officer is bound, from the constable to the President of the United States, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, which does contain every provision of the Union that does exist.

The word Liberty is often used both by kings and monarchs, and it seems that its true meaning is not well understood, and is often badly applied. The true meaning of the word Liberty is, to have rights and privileges, and be well secured and protected in the right of using them. This Constitution of the United States has given to the members of this Union more rights and liberties than any other government on earth, and, as I have shown, has permanently secured them by those provisions. I have shown that our rights and liberties are as



firmly secured as the laws of the Medes and Persians, which could not be altered or changed. For the Constitution provides that no *ex post facto law* shall be passed. And as no *ex post facto law* can be passed, no right already secured can be taken from us by any made hereafter. And as no one has power to impair the contract that secured those contracts, and this Union was to be perpetual, it secures them for ever. But, in one respect, our government far excels that of the Medes and Persians. We have provided that amendments may be made, so that, if time and experience should cause us to see that any defects existed in giving a permanent security to our rights, we have a right to amend and make ourselves as secure as the wisdom of man could devise.

But we acted with great caution in providing a way for amendments, and also fixed firm checks to prevent any acts under the name of amendments, from having any chance to deprive us of our rights, already secured, as I have previously explained. Now those provisions of the Constitution show clearly that the framers of the Constitution had but one object in view, and that was, to protect the citizens in all their rights, liberties and privileges. There was but one way in which it could be done, and that was, by prohibiting and restricting all officers and all legislative bodies from having any power to create laws, to deprive them of their rights, as they have done. There could be no freer trade to any people than is secured by the Constitution of the United States, for it provides that no duty or tax shall be laid on any article exported from any State, and that no article shall enter free in one port, and pay duty in another, and that the duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. It also provides "that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State upon the property of the United States, or either of them." So that there cannot be any tax or duties laid on any articles exported from the United States to any foreign government. Neither can there be any tax or duty laid on any article exported from any State to any other State. This is as free a trade as can be made by any government.

Now, this is the kind of government that has been thrown

away, and wished to be destroyed, both by the Secessionists and the Lincoln Abolitionists, and separate States Rights platforms, and forcing the people to fight to establish the security of the life, liberty and property of the people under the control of the legislative bodies.

As there has been so much said about separate States Rights sovereignty, and the reserved rights of the States, perhaps it will be better to make some better "*showing*," as to what is meant by those words, used both in the "Articles of Confederation" and in the Constitution of the United States. The Articles of Confederation provides :

"ART. 2d. That each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." This shows clearly that the people, jointly throughout the United States, had delegated power to other agents to be transacted jointly for other purposes than the affairs of a separate State ; but for the purpose of transacting business in which all were equally interested. But while retaining the sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, they excluded the necessary power which was expressly delegated to their joint agents. Now let us see what were these sovereign rights which were retained to each State, for the word *each*, States who were members of the Union. Now, the right of each State, or the people of each State retained was, the right to elect the officers that were to transact their joint agency, and also to elect all the officers of their own State; and also to provide a constitution as a power of attorney by which to transact their business.

When there is a written power of attorney given to an agent or agents, it is a settled principle, settled by all law, that when they have acted as far as the power of attorney authorizes, their power ceases. Now, the people have in their joint agreement delegated certain business for all their agents, who transact their joint agency, and have expressly named what each agent shall transact, what services Congress shall perform, what services the Judges of the Supreme Court shall render, what services each officer in all the departments of the government

shall attend to, and for what length of time shall hold their offices. So that, all their powers are delegated, and it is set apart what services each shall render, from the President to the constable. All are sworn to discharge the duties of the offices to which they are appointed, to the best of their ability, and that they will support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

All the officers who act under the General Government are not sworn to support or defend the constitution of any State, but every one is sworn to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. This shows clearly that all the Union that does exist is contained in the Constitution of the United States, and that it is a union of individuals, and not a union of State Legislatures, having the absolute control over the life, liberty and property of the people. And those provisions, both of the "Articles of Confederation" and the Constitution of the United States show clearly that the people have not surrendered either to their agents nor their State governments any part of their sovereignty, for the people of each State has retained the right to elect their own officers, according to their population, to transact all their joint agencies. And as all the power they have to transact is delegated, it shows clearly that not one of these officers, from the President to the constable, has one particle of sovereignty invested in themselves. They are all confined by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, to act within the bounds of the commission of the office for which they were elected, and they have no power to act further. This is the case with the legislators of Congress, for their powers are delegated, set apart and expressly named, and they have no power that is not expressly named. Neither have the legislators of the States any powers but what are expressly named.

All the powers they possess are named and delegated by the people of each State, and by the constitutions of their several States, and they have no power but what is expressly named by the constitution of their own State. Neither have the people of any State power to make a constitution or law to impair any contract that exists under their joint agreement between themselves and the people of all the other States. Because, accord-

ing to the agreement that existed between them, no State was to have power to impair the obligation of contracts; and one of these contracts was, that the Union should be perpetual. No State has power to make a law to extend its laws into any other State. No officer is bound to support and defend the laws of any State but his own. No officer transacting the joint agency of the United States is bound by any oath to support and defend the constitution of any State. This shows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that this Union was not a union of sovereign State Legislatures, neither is it a union of State authorities. But if further proof is necessary to show that the Union, under the Constitution of the United States, was not a union of State authority; but that the Union was of individuals, and not of State authority, let us define the word *sovereignty*, and see whether it will apply to the State Legislatures of either State, or the United States. It is true I have fully shown that their powers were all delegated, which would exclude all claim to sovereignty; for the word sovereignty will not apply to any one, only those who can act without being under any obligation, only their own will. And as all legislators, acting under the authority of the constitution both of the State and the United States, are delegated, and have no power to act, nor remain in office longer than the time for which they were elected.

Otherwise, then, it proves beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the word *sovereignty* cannot apply to the Legislatures either of States or the United States. But if not to them, let us see if the word sovereignty can rightly be applied to the people under the Constitution of the United States.

All sovereigns claim the right to create the laws to the extent and boundaries of their territorial jurisdiction, Now, when the people gained their independence from the King of England, by their delegates, formed a joint agreement to sustain each other in the rights of independence, which they did, as I have clearly shown. They elected members to a convention for the purpose of adopting certain principles as the standard of government. They adopted the "Articles of Confederation," but as they did not bind themselves to abide by such principles as they might adopt, they retained the right to decide



for themselves. So the principles they adopted were not binding until the people elected another set of delegates with power and authority to ratify and adopt the principles contained in the "Articles of Confederation," as the standard of government. They all agreed to be governed by these principles, and to govern all others by them. And in those principles they agreed to require an oath from every one who should hold an office, that they would support and defend all the rights secured to themselves under that agreement. They provided that the Union should be perpetual. They also provided that amendments might be made, but that no *ex post facto law* should be made, nor law impairing the obligation of contracts should be passed. Now, it will be seen, if examined into, that the people have never been bound by any other power but themselves, and their own consent, and at all times retained the sovereign right not to be bound by any other obligation than their own will. For, although they have provided in the "Articles of Confederation" that amendments may be made, and also in what is called the Constitution of the United States, which is only an amendment of the first, that amendments may be made, and the word amendment must be in accordance with the first, or it would not be an amendment. The provisions both of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution are adopted for the security and protection of the people against all attacks made against them on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever. Now, whatever addition was made by the way of amendments that would make the people more secure in all these things, would be an amendment; but any addition that would make the people less secure, under the name of an amendment, would be passing an *ex post facto law*, and a law impairing the obligation of contracts. Now, let us see what is provided to the delegating powers in the amendment called the Constitution of the United States. It provides that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, be reserved to the States respectively, or the people. Now, let us see what was reserved to the States or the people. Mind, that portion of the Constitution was speaking of the delegating powers; that is, all powers not delegated, were undelegated, and if delegated at

all, must be delegated by three-fourths of the States, or the people; and that they had to be adopted by the people, and become part of the Constitution in the same manner, and in the same way that all the other parts of the Constitution were created. They were created by the consent of three-fourths of the people, before it could become a part of the Constitution. So, you see, the people had the right to create the laws by which they should be bound; and, in this way, have never parted with any part of their sovereignty. But as the word *State* has been wrongly applied by the Calhoun party, and the Abolition party, and, by false construction, applied or made to mean legislative bodies of each State, and that they were sovereign, and not the people. But let us see if the word *State* will apply to the legislatures in any manner, whatever. When the King of England relinquished his claim in the United States, his territorial claims were called by the names—New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, &c. Now, those names, and all the names attached to colonies, only represented the boundary of territory, which also included the people within the boundary of said territory—claimed by him as his subjects. So, when he acknowledged the independence of the people within the boundaries of these territories, he simply relinquished his claim on all these colonies by name, whereas if he had only acknowledged a part of the colonies, that part not acknowledged he could still claim. But he did acknowledge all that is now by us called States. Now, will any sane man pretend to say that the word South Carolina, means the Legislature of South Carolina? Or will any one pretend to say that the word Georgia, means the Legislature of Georgia? Is not the word *State*, put in the place of *Colony*? and did not the word *Colony*, represent the territorial boundary of that territory. Now, when the word *State* is used, either in the “Articles of Confederation” or the Constitution of the United States, the true meaning is, the territory and boundaries which include the people. And the word *State*, is generally used to include the people within the boundaries of the State, without any reference to the legislature, whatever. When the word *State* is used, it always means the territory, or the people, and very often both; but when we

define the word sovereignty, the legislators of a State have a very poor showing, as it regards being under no obligation but their own will. A man cannot be a member to act as legislator, unless the people elect him. He cannot take a seat in the house unless he takes an oath to support and defend the constitution of his own State, and the Constitution of the United States. This shows clearly that both these departments of government belong to the people that elected them, for they are bound to support both. They cannot remain members any longer than the Constitution—created by the people—permits. They cannot create any power but what the delegated power authorized them to make; they cannot pass *ex post facto laws*, nor laws impairing the obligations of contracts; they cannot declare war nor make peace, enter into any treaty or contract with another State or foreign power; they cannot make anything but gold and silver a legal tender, in payment of debt—and many other things too tedious to mention. Since Mr. Calhoun intended to make the legislatures of the States sovereign, we need not wonder that he tried to get them out of the Union—for of all sovereigns, they have the poorest chance, to carry out acts of sovereignty, I have ever read or heard of. But if Mr. Calhoun's states rights sovereignty be transferred to the legislatures of each State, so as to give them the absolute control over both the lives, liberty and property of the people, and a right to emancipate their property and take every thing from the people, and be under no obligation but their own will, they would take away from the people the right to decide for themselves and choose their own mode and measure of defence.

And if the people refused allegiance to them, so as to bring themselves under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereigns, and within the severe pains and penalties by which their Legislatures, in their high and sovereign power, would not fail to provide for her self-defence, in no case, where their authority was called in question, should judges or jury be permitted to sit on trial (unless they were first sovereign) to decide for them and against the citizen. The same might be tried without being plead, and they should not be permitted to take an appeal, or copy of an appeal, to the Courts of the United

States. But if they attempted to take an appeal, or copy of an appeal, the person so attempting should be dealt with for contempt of court. So that if Mr. Calhoun's State Rights sovereignty is established in the legislative bodies of each State, the people have a very poor showing for their sovereignty, and would be left without the shadow of sovereignty or protection in any form. The legislative bodies, in the Ordinance of 1832, also provided that the legislative bodies should have power to prescribe, from time to time, what oath of allegiance the officers and citizens should take; and also defined what should be considered treason against the Legislatures, and the punishment annexed. There was a bill drawn up to define what should constitute treason against Mr. Calhoun's *sovereign legislators*, which provided that if any one spoke against any act the Legislature passed, or resisted, in any manner whatever, the penalty should be death, without the benefit of the clergy. This bill was not passed. They then provided that there should be no appeal from the decision of a court-martial, so that the Legislatures could place the punishment of any offence into the hands of the military courts, and inflict any punishment on the people they thought proper by their military power. They also provided, that they would not admit of any allegiance to any other authority than the Legislatures of the States, and to these they might transfer their allegiance. This shows that there must have been some intention on the part of the States Rights party to transfer the people to some other power, as they had provided for transferring in the Ordinance, and explained in the address accompanying the Ordinance in 1832. Now, you see this is absolutely usurping the power from the people and placing more power in the hands of the Legislatures, than is possessed by any King or Prince in any Christian land. Let us see what kind of a government this would make, and see whether any such government would remain in existence, and whether any such government could give any security or protection to the people of the United States. The Legislatures of each State are to be separate, sovereign and independent—under no obligation, only their own will, more than any King, Prince or Potentate. Now, if the Legislature of each State is



under no obligation except their own will—having a right to decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and manner of redress—there could be no Union with other States. For if they are under no obligation except their own will, there could be no agreement between them and the other States; if no agreement, no Union could exist. Therefore, this principle of “States Rights Sovereignty,” in the Legislatures of each State, would create as many separate and distinct governments as there were States, all under no obligation but their own will, no more than any King, Prince or Potentate.

Neither would they suffer themselves to be under any other restraint, and to carry out that principle they would be obliged to remain in that situation permanently. Now, we will say no Union should exist, nor dispute be settled by law, for the declaration of the ordinance is, that they had the right to decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and manner of defence, and no lawful arbiter could be found sufficiently impartial to decide against them; therefore, none was provided.

Now, according to this plan of government, the States that owned all the coast and ports of entry could, if they were independent governments, by other powers acknowledged, enter into treaties and compacts, and treaties of commerce. But none of the back States could, for they would have no ports of entry on which to make a treaty. And those States bordering on the coast, to carry out their first propositions, would be under no obligation except their own will; neither would they suffer themselves to be under any other obligation. It would not do for them to enter into any treaty with the other States. But if they should let the other States have commerce through their ports, they might tax them to any amount for the privilege. And could any one State be able to pay the expenses of sending a minister to enter into commercial intercourse, and send consuls to every port where we had commerce with other nations, or defend the rights of its citizens according to the treaty agreed to?

Or would a State be able to keep ships and navies to protect her commerce to and from her ports? Or, if a treaty of commerce were disregarded by those with whom they made the

treaty, would a State have physical power sufficient to send an army, and punish the offenders? Could any government remain under such a form, or could it be a government at all? Therefore you may see the necessity of providing that part of the ordinance where they provide that they would not admit of any allegiance to any other authority than the legislature, and to these they would transfer their allegiance. Now, the remedy he proposes for settling disputes between Congress, is for each State to decide for themselves. In his book on governments, he says, that the people are sovereign at the start; but that the States (meaning the Legislatures,) have created two governments, one a Federal government, the other a State government, that the power not delegated to the Federal was reserved to the State; that each one of these two governments was sovereign. The Federal government was sovereign as far as its power was delegated, and all the remainder of power was reserved to the Legislatures of the States. In this manner he represents Congress to be sovereign as far as her delegated power is concerned, and the legislative bodies of the States were sovereign over all the remainder of the power, and that each government had the right to decide for itself as to the extent of their power, and choose their own mode and manner of redress. He says that each one has the right to decide as to the extent of their power. Over whom? He says, over the people, Not over the government, but over the people. He says the government cannot be made defendant, for they are sovereign, but they may become plaintiff if they choose. But, he says, when the States and the Federal government come into conflict in regard to their power, each having a right to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and manner of defence, the State can resort to remonstrance, or try to form a party of the nearest combination of interests, so as to be able to get a compromise. Now, a compromisor has to take what he can get, not what he ought to have. So this plan of government by Mr. Calhoun is a very poor protector, under any circumstance. If you have no better protection against those scamps than to remonstrate and compromise, you might as well tell a thief, who had stolen your horse, that if he would not steal any more he might keep him,

and then not expect him to steal any more. Does any one believe he would not steal any more? But another remedy offered was, secession. This remedy, his party are trying now, which he recommended as the best of all, and surest against all the evils spoken of.

We see what great protection we have; and how secure every man is in his home, his family and fireside, as was promised. Now, all those principles and remedies proposed by Mr. Calhoun are outside of the Constitution, both of the States and the United States, and, if established, would destroy the government of the people. But those remedies were introduced to protect the government of the Legislatures of the States, against the Legislators of Congress.

There is not one argument used by Mr. Calhoun to protect the citizen against acts of majorities, nor acts of legislation either in the States or the United States; therefore, according to his State Rights government, they have no power but to obey. And, as Congress and the Legislatures both had the right to decide for themselves as to the extent of their own power over the people, and the people had no course but to obey, I think it leaves the people in a very bad condition, and, I think they might begin to find it out. But now it appears that Lincoln is acting with both these powers to *emancipate*. He has, or pretended he would, emancipate both by legislation and acts of majorities in Congress and in the States. Now, the point of difference was, that Congress has not the right to emancipate, but that it should not be denied; but that, the Legislatures of the States had the right to emancipate everything from the people, so he and his party both are Abolitionists. There is no difference in their principles, so let the people of the North and the South look into these things and see if either of the Legislatures had the right to emancipate the African property.

They have, as they claim, and as they are really acting upon, the right of taking away life, liberty and property from the people, by forcing them to kill, rob and murder each other, whether they are willing or not. To establish the power of legislation, or acts of legislation, either in Congress or States,

is a government of robbery instead of a government of protection. Such is the Government of the Constitution of the United States, as I have so fully shown. Now, all those powers claimed under Lincoln's party and under Calhoun's party, are outside of the Constitution—are without foundation—and in that way they settled all their disputes, instead of referring to the Courts of the United States. Their compromises were unconstitutional. Not one of them could give any security for the future; but, as Mr. Webster said, he hoped that no more slave States would come into the Union, this was supporting and encouraging the principle of robbing, under the acts of legislative power, and depriving the people of the rights secured to themselves under the Constitution; for the Constitution of the United States and the Articles of Confederation are all parts of the Union, as I have before shown. They provide that each citizen of each State shall have free egress and ingress to and from any other State, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States, subject to the duties, taxation and restrictions of the same State; provided such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property into any other State. And provided, also, that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them. Now, it will be seen that Mr. Webster's counsel was outside of the Constitution, and, like Clay and Calhoun, if his principles were adopted, they would utterly destroy all the rights secured to the people under the fixed and established principles of their government. As no law nor regulation should be passed by any State, to discharge a servant, or person bound to service due to a citizen of another State, and as no State had power to pass an *ex post facto law*, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, and the citizens were to be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects, we see that if Webster's principles were adopted they would take away every security from the people. For their principles leave them in the hands of legislative power, and without any protection under the laws established under the Constitution. Now, Calhoun's plan of government is to adopt his own States Rights legislative power, and also adopt Clay's remedy of com-



promising policy for Webster's abolition principles, for his party convention in Cincinnati. In their platform or plan of government, they declared that it should not be denied, but that a State had a right to emancipate—which, according to the application of the word State, applied by Mr. Calhoun, is meant the Legislatures of the States. So you see that neither of those three great champions advocated the rights of the people, but advocated the right in legislative bodies to have the power over the lives, liberties and property of the people; and the right to take everything from the people, being under no obligation except their own will. Now, this is the platform of the government laid down by Clay, Calhoun and Webster; and this is the kind of government attempted to be carried out by the Lincoln and the Davis party. This is the deplorable condition of the people under their military power; for as I have heretofore stated and explained, that this Union could never be destroyed unless we created parties. And that the liberties of the people were so securely protected under the Constitution, that they could never take them away unless they got them under military power—and both these they have accomplished. From what I have shown, neither Calhoun, Clay nor Webster ever pretended to dispute that a State had the right to emancipate. But Clay's party, and Webster's party, never defined how far their power extended. But the Calhoun party has defined the power of emancipation—how far it extends in the hands of the Legislatures of each State—that they had the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people—that they had the clear right to declare these obligations, and when once declared, the people had no course but to obey. But if they refused obedience to their only and lawful sovereign, the Legislatures in their high and sovereign capacity could not fail to provide for their self-defence, the fault and folly would be their own. This principle, if established over the people, would be one of the greatest despotisms that exists on the globe.

Now, while those great politicians were pretending to oppose each other, and representing themselves as the great protectors of the people's rights secured to themselves by the Constitution, they were undermining every right, liberty and privilege they

had secured to themselves. But all three of these men have been called to a judgment seat, to be tried by a tribunal that cannot be deceived. They may betray and deceive man, but they cannot deceive God. So let all our politicians think of what benefits they received on earth, and what may be their punishment hereafter. See what destruction of life and property, what misery and distress has resulted from the principles they have imposed on the confiding and unsuspecting. Will God suffer such things?

Now, after that I have shown all these things, when we consider who these men were, who laid the foundation for the destruction of our government, and who introduced so many misconstructions of our government, is it not the most astonishing thing that so many good and wise men among us have overlooked the misconstructions put upon the plan of protecting our rights, liberty and property. We have been uniting with these parties, and looking up to their teachings as a guide, in place of examining for ourselves, and thus we are dragged under despotism. But each of these three leaders had their parties, and each party looked up to their leader as their guide and director. The object of those who made the most noise was to get an office, as a reward for his party services; and this is the way so many good men have been deceived, and have become like the blind man leading the blind, when both fall into the ditch. We do know that thousands upon thousands of as good men as the world has produced, have fallen in and taken sides with all those party combinations, and they were all wrong. And indeed, we can find very few who have not taken sides with one party or other, and, as I have shown, have been acting in direct opposition to their own interests. And I have written this work to propose a compromise with all parties, for we have all done wrong.

Let everything be forgiven by all parties that have existed heretofore, that no charge of treason shall be brought against any one. For we have all been guilty of assisting these parties in carrying out those principles which were opposed to the government, established by the people, and the charge of treason might be applied to all. We know that there are thousands

upon thousands of cases where wrong was done. It was an error of the head and not of the heart. And as we do not know who was guilty, or wrong intentionally, let all things past be forgiven; let there be no charge of treason; no confiscation of property; no exciting; no disfranchising from holding office. But let all parties fall back under the Constitution in its purity, where every member is secured in the right to buy whatever property he thinks fit, and go with it into any State or Territory in the United States, and be protected in it. Now, establish this plan of government, as it is really the original government established by the Constitution in all its original purity, with the necessary explanations I have set forth. This Union could never more be destroyed. And as our experience has proved, we will not need to keep a standing army, for every one is under the Union. A standing army to defend each other on account of religion, sovereignty, or any pretence whatever. So we need no army, except for the protection of our commerce against pirates, as it goes to and from our ports, and our frontier territories from savage depredations. But to become as happy a people as we were, it might be proper to dispense with the payment of the debts contracted by these two parties. For I consider both the parties nothing but mob governments. Both of them are out of the Union—Lincoln as much as Davis. Neither of them is acknowledged as an independent government. All the commercial intercourse of Lincoln's government is carried on through the treaty existing under the authority of the people's government, and, as good luck will have it, we are not in debt to any other government for the expenses of this war, and these two parties being nothing but mobs, no one has any right to pay.

The manner in which I would recommend that this compromise should be made, is this: let a meeting of all the Legislatures, North and South, be called; let them call for an armistice, and then let a member from every county in each State meet to hold a peace convention. And if this platform, written by me, be adopted, let the Governor of every State be directed to call every man in his State to order all the officers and soldiers to shoulder arms and come home. Let them be armed so

that no undue advantage could be taken of them by any mob. Now, this convention ought to be elected by the people. And let every State have this platform presented in whatever numbers they might think necessary; so that it might be examined by the people, and let them elect members to the convention to approve or disapprove of it. It is my own opinion that there will not be one man who wishes for the welfare of his country, or the happiness and security of the people, who will not be willing to adopt it. There is another thing I would recommend, that the Presidents of these two mob governments should both resign, and let all the members of Congress in each government resign. And, indeed, those conventions have the right to call on them to resign, and elect others in their place, but give any of them the privilege of being a candidate for any office for which they desire to run.

It is my desire that no man shall be disgraced, who willingly falls back under the Union in its original purity, for we have all been so guilty of wrong in these matters, that we must go back forgiving, and as far as possible, forget all past wrongs, as far as it regards one another. Let us be governed by the counsel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when asked by his apostles if they should forgive one another seven times, he told them not only seven times, but seventy times seven.

Although I had but two sons, David and Jonathan, lovely, kind, obliging, dutiful sons, with a happy prospect before them, and have lost both in the war, I am willing to forgive all who will return willingly to the Union in its original purity. But there is one thing against which I wish to guard the minds of the people, that is, saying that they would rather go under any king or monarch than go back into the Union. They use those words, thinking that the Lincoln government is the original Union, which it is not. For the Abolitionists prohibit every citizen from owning slave property in their own State, and prohibit the people of other States, owning African property, from moving with their property into their States. They have left the Union, and if the South unites with them, the right of every citizen in his own State must be acknowledged, to own and buy slave property if he choose; the right also for every citizen



who is a member of the Union, to move into any other State or Territory in the Union. In this way there could be no parties among us. But those who say they would go under any other government than go back into the Union and Constitution in its purity, do not know how many evils they would have to undergo in a government of a king. We have been told that we resisted the government of England on account of the tax on tea; but that was not the cause of our resistance. The colonies legislated on all domestic affairs, as we do now in States, but their acts were not acknowledged to become a law until ratified by the Parliament of England. The time for passing at that period was so long and tedious, and our acts or calls on England for protection from the Indians so often forgotten or neglected, and we being in the power of England, could be forced to fight when and where they pleased, and pay taxes as often as they pleased. Our statesmen saw the dangers ahead of them, and this and similar circumstances caused them to resist the King of England.

Now, if we were to put ourselves under any other government; this would be our condition. Our sons could be taken from their fathers and mothers to fight in foreign countries—husbands from their wives and children. They would tax us to any amount they pleased, like those two military chieftains are doing now. There is no safety but to go back under the people's government, and then you will be safe from all these things.

Now let us see who were those that created the party, and how, when and who introduced and advocated their principles, until they have assumed such a form of despotism as it is this day. Calhoun, Clay and Webster were considered the great champions of their day, and were looked up to as guides, by which to conduct the ship of our government of the Constitution of the United States safely through. Each one acted his part in the destruction of our government of the people. Clay was a great compromisor. Webster hoped that there would not be any more slave States. Calhoun was a great *separate States Rights* man. All these principles were outside of the Constitution, but they answered the purpose of creating parties. Each



party, in place of examining the Constitution for the correctness of their principles, quoted their arguments as the standard of government, in place of the principles embodied in the Constitution, and by that means divided the people into great political parties, each and every one of them acting outside of the Constitution, and without any legal authority, for the conventions that framed a government for the people of the United States, did not leave their rights in the hands of compromisers; but as I have clearly shown, secured all their rights, and fixed them so secure that no compromisor has any right to compromise them away. If we had no better security for our rights than compromises, or one party against another, it would be no security at all. It would be like throwing a cork on the sea—it would be here to-day, but no one could tell where it would be to-morrow. These are the principles adopted by these three great politicians. Mr. Clay was a great compromisor, so was Webster and Calhoun. The plan of settling all disputes, compromise in place of a court and jury, as is appointed by the Constitution. Now, if we had no other way to settle disputes but by compromise, it takes two to agree to a compromise before you can get a compromise, and if one of the parties did not intend to pay the debt, of course he would not agree to compromise; and if you had no other way to get your money you would have to take it by force, or not get it at all. Now, if we adopt this plan of government to settle all cases of dispute as a standard of government, in place of a court and jury, those principles alone would destroy the government of the people; for whenever there is no court and jury, there can be no government, and now mind, this plan of government is to be agreed to by those men. Assuming the law-making power, they were to be the compromisers themselves, whether the people should submit to the laws they passed or not. So you see this was laying down the same principles they have been carrying out to take the power out of the people and fix it in themselves, for if we have no court and jury, of course we, the people, have no government, and this plan would leave the legislators to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and measure of defence, and then under no obligation to the people than their own will,

corresponding with Calhoun's platform of government. Now let us examine Mr. Webster's platform, and see whether it runs into the same channel. He hopes there will be no more slave States admitted into the Union, and also agrees to the right of a State to emancipate. So does Calhoun and Clay. So we see they all three agree on that principle as the standard of government. So they all agree that far. In the Cincinnati Convention they declared it should not be denied but that a State had the right to emancipate; and in the general Democratic Convention, as they call themselves, their declarations were, that a State had the right to take everything from the people. But let us see what the Constitutional Government, created by the people, says, and see if Messrs. Webster, Clay and Calhoun's principles are not right in opposition to the constituted authority of the people's government, and if adopted would destroy every provision in the Constitution of the United States, as completely as if it never had existed, which is the only Union that exists. Now, as all who claim the right of sovereignty, claim the right to create the laws that are to govern within their territorial government, they being sovereign, the laws they create are sovereign, and by those laws they control all within their territorial jurisdiction.

Now, the people of the United States being sovereign, they claim the right to create the laws they are to be governed by, in place of kings, monarchs and despots creating them. Now, the laws they created will be sovereign also. They all agree to be governed by those laws and to govern all others by them. Now, the laws they created will be found, first, in the Declaration of Independence; secondly, under the Articles of Confederation; thirdly, by the way of amendments, called the Constitution of the United States. But the words United States included all three of those documents, for the Constitution provides that all engagements entered into before the adoption of the Constitution shall be as valid against the United States as under the Confederation; and that this Union should be perpetual; and that all men in office throughout the United States should be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding

any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. So you see that the officers of every State are bound by oath, or affirmation, to disregard the constitution or law of their own State, or of any other State, if it conflicts with the laws created under the Constitution of the United States, and only because it was created by the sovereign people jointly of all the United States, and they agreed jointly that they would be governed by those fixed, established principles themselves, and govern all others by them. They also agreed that they should be the supreme law of the land; but that amendments might be made, but that no amendment should be made but by the consent of three-fourths of the States. Now, as every law contained in the Constitution of the United States is provided and adopted for the protection of each member of the Union, and preserve him or her securely in their persons, papers, houses, and effects; and that we, under the agreement of a firm league of friendship, to support each other against all attacks made against us, or any of us, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever, which would include everything that could be thought of or named. Now, let me see whether Webster's principles will correspond with those established under this league of friendship, and the laws the people agreed to be governed, and to govern all others by. Now, it appears that Mr. Webster hopes that no more States shall be admitted into the Union as slave States. Now, let me see what the Constitution, or Articles of Confederation says. It provides that the citizens of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States, subject to the same duties, taxation and restrictions of the same State respectively; provided those restrictions shall not extend, so far as to prevent removal of property from one State to any other. The citizens being inhabitants, provided, also, that no duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

Now, you see those Abolition principles adopted are in strict opposition to the provisions of the Constitution, and would take away the rights secured to each citizen of the Union, North and South, and is usurping power prohibited expressly by words

of the Constitution. The United States provides that no State shall have power to pass an *ex post facto law*, a law impairing the obligation of contracts.

Now, this would be passing an *ex post facto law*, a law impairing obligation of contracts: and as the oath under the authority of the Constitution of the United States is that every one in office through the United States shall be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, under the Abolition platform they assume, and have, by acts of legislation and acts of majorities, emancipated and taken the African property from their own citizens, and also passed acts, if the citizens of other States moved into those States, their property should be taken from them, and set free, when the law of the Constitution provides that the citizens of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and that no duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them. Now, this shows these laws are all usurped, and right in opposition to the laws of the Union. The Constitution of the United States also provides that the citizens are to be secured in their persons, papers, houses and effects, and shall be preserved inviolably. It also provides that no law or regulation shall be made by any State to discharge a servant or person bound to service due to the citizens of another State, but if a servant or person bound to service shall escape and flee to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant or person bound to service. It also provides that no private property shall be taken for public use without full compensation to the owner. It also provides that the military power shall be in subordination to the civil. It also provides that no State shall have power to pass an *ex post facto law*—a law impairing the obligation of contracts. Now, those Abolitionists of the Northern States, under the platform of Clay, Calhoun and Webster, have set aside every provision named and created by the



laws, right in opposition to the Constitution and the laws established; and if adopted as the standard of government in place of laws adopted by the Constitution, it would destroy every provision of the Constitution as completely as if it had never existed, and place the power in the hands of legislators, and acts of majorities, and they under no obligation, only their own will, more than any king, prince or potentate, as they have claimed, leaving the people without any course but to obey. When under the authority of the Constitution of the United States no power has been extended to any one in office, but delegated powers, which is a business set apart for them to do.

Those delegated powers expressly named, having no power but what was expressly named, and when they had discharged the duty of the office which they were elected, or appointed to do, to the extent of their delegated powers, their power ceased, and under the Constitution of the United States, they are restricted and prohibited by express words, to have no power beyond those delegated. Now, let us see if those powers claimed by the Abolition party would not overthrow the government of the people as well as Mr. Clay, and transfer the power from the people into the hands of the legislators, and make a government of robbery, murder and destruction of life, liberty and property, in place of a government of protection to the citizens, persons, papers, houses and effects, in place of supporting and defending us, according to the joint agreement under the Articles of Confederation, against any attack made against us, or any of us, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any pretence whatever, which would cover every thing that could be thought of or named; and as we own no property now but what was owned at that time, and as we were bound to support and defend no one but such as were members of the Union, and this Union was to be perpetuated, and no State had power to impair the obligations of contracts, this put it out of the power of a State to make any change in the contracts. But



let us see how far those Abolitionists have departed from their contract, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Now, it must be remembered that the people have created all laws, and agreed to be governed by them, and to govern all others by them. So far as Territories or the States extended—for all the States have to come into the Union under the same agreement the rest did—it is not left to Congress to say what terms a State shall come into the Union on. The Constitution fixes the terms every State shall come into the Union on, and every officer, from the constable to the President, has to take the same oath the rest took, that is, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, it is necessary that the Constitution of every State should correspond exactly with the Constitution of the United States; for if they were required to support and defend two opposites, it would be impossible to do it, and any one that would take such an oath would perjure himself. So, according to the oath to be taken to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, you must disregard every oath required by any one, or either of the States or the United States, if it conflicts, or is in opposition to the laws made by the Constitution of the United States. Now, it appears that Webster's abolition party has done like the Clay and Calhoun party. Every law they have created has been right in opposition to the laws created by the Constitution. In the first place, they were to protect every member of the Union, on any account whatever. The Constitution provides that no law or regulations shall be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of another State; but if a servant escapes from one State to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant, or persons bound to service. Does not the Constitution of the United States provide that a citizen shall be secured in their papers, houses and effects? Can a citizen be secured in anything, if the legislative

bodies have power to take from them all those rights secured to them by the Constitution? The United States provides that no private property shall be taken without full compensation to the owner. It also provides that military law shall be subordinate to the civil law. Now, by the military law, by force of arms, they have murdered and robbed us of our African property, right in opposition and contrary to the laws of the Union; they denied us, of the Southern States, and also the citizens of all the Northern States, the right to buy or carry African property into any Territory, when the Constitution of the United States provided that no duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, nor any particular State. Yet they pretend they are members of the Union, when they have violated and created laws right in opposition to those created by the Union. They have made war against the Southern States, and called on foreigners, and forced the good people of the Northern States to come and assist them murdering the people. There were many thousands of them who had no desire to hurt us or deprive us of our rights, but would have assisted us in protecting us in our rights, but for the course pursued by the leaders of secession, which placed every good Union man where he could not help us, for the secession leaders had declared the people out of the Union, and this gave the Abolition party excuse to call on the people at the North to preserve the Union. So you see they acted into one another's hands to get the people under military power. The Abolition party pretended they were preserving the Union, when they were doing every thing in their power to destroy it. And now I wish all honest men at the North, as well as the honest men of the South, to look what they forced on the people of the South when they surrendered up their arms, in order that we might be restored to the Union in its original purity—and let us see what condition they proposed to receive us into the Union on. They pretended the object of the war was to bring the South

back into the Union; and let us see what kind of oath they require of the people of the South before they would admit them into the Union. The oath they propose was, that they should support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder; and that they should abide by, and faithfully support all laws and proclamations, which have been made during the existing rebellion, with reference to the emancipation of slaves. Now, you see the oath they require to be taken is right in opposition to the oath required by the Constitution. There is no power delegated to any one, to require any other oath than to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, in order to be admitted as a member of the Union; but you see they have added all acts of legislation and proclamation of the President, when every act of legislation and proclamations of the President was strictly in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution, for the Constitution provided that no private property should be taken without full compensation. This oath they require to be taken, corresponds with the oath of the Calhoun platform of 1832, where they required all officers to support and defend all acts of the legislators, both what they had passed, and what they might pass, without naming the Constitution at all; but the Abolitionists named the Constitution, and in addition, required the people to support and defend the acts of legislation and proclamations of the President, strictly in opposition to the Constitution. By this you can perceive whether the Abolitionists or secessionists are acting in concert, for both or either of these principles would utterly overthrow the government of the people. Placed then under the legislative power, and then under no obligation, only their own will, when the Constitution has given them no powers but delegated powers, with proper prohibitions and restrictions to confine their acts within the powers delegated.

It seems from this, from what I have shown, that those two parties are acting in concert together, in order to get

the people under military powers; so that they can take all our rights and liberty from us, and place us under the greatest military despotism on earth.

Now in place of requiring the people of the South to take the oath of the Constitution of the United States, as is required by the people's government, which is the only and all the Union that does exist, they require the people of the South to support and defend all acts passed by Congress and proclamations of the President during the time of the rebellion, and the emancipation of the African property, and the Constitution of the United States. Now, it was impossible to support and defend all the acts of legislators and the proclamations of the President, and the Constitution of the United States if the acts of Congress, and the proclamations were right in opposition to the Constitution of the United States; and if we take an oath to support and defend two opposites, we cannot do it, and must perjure ourselves. We were required to take an oath to support and defend the emancipation of our own property, taken from us by the military power, when the Constitution of the United States provides that the military power shall be in subordination to the civil, and the civil law provides that no private property shall be taken without full compensation to the owner. Now, has not this military power taken the African property from their owners, and by military power forced them to take an oath to sustain them in their robbery? And it is right in opposition to the laws of the Union. This is first forcing the people to take an oath to support and defend the Union, and forcing them to resist the Constitution. But what I wish the people to notice particular is, this oath corresponds with the oath of the secessionists, under the ordinance of 1832, where they required every one in office to take an oath to defend whatever the Legislatures had passed, or might pass, to the full extent and true meaning of the same. Now, by this oath, the emancipator is required to support all acts the Legislatures



pass, and all proclamations of the President, when, at the same time, I have shown that every act passed by the Legislatures, and all proclamations made by President Lincoln, are utterly unconstitutional, and right in opposition to the provision of it, and assuming all powers by the legislators that any king, prince or potentate ever did on earth. Now, it will be seen by Webster's Abolition platform that it is their object to transfer all power from the people to the legislators, and the Abolitionists have advanced a little further than the secessionists, by including the proclamation of the President. Now, the constitutional court has already decided, in the *Dred Scott* case, that Africans were property, and as much entitled to protection, all over the United States, as any other property. Now, if acts of majorities and proclamations of the President have the power to take away one part of our property, what is to hinder them to take all? and could the citizens be secure in anything? What would become of that portion of the Constitution which provides that the citizens are to be secure in their person, papers, houses and effects, and that security to be preserved inviolably?

Now, what greater trespasses can be committed against the Union than has been committed by the present abolition administration, against the people, South and North? For they have caused, by their unconstitutional acts, as well as the secession leaders, all the destruction of life, liberty and property that has been done in the United States. It is useless for them to say the South brought on the war, by going out of the Union. They went out of the Union first. In the first place, they forfeited every obligation under the Union, entered into, as I have already shown, to the people of the South. If there is an obligation entered into between the people, both North and South, that abolition parties have not failed to comply with, and forfeited their agreement with the balance of the members of the Union, I do not know what one of them it is, and if there is one they have complied with, I do wish some one would inform me. And the next question is, I will ask what one of the obligations entered into under the Constitution of the United States, that a



Southron has failed to comply with to the North. I challenge the world for an answer—have not the Abolitionists? for I will charge the blame on no one else. Have they not given just reasons for the South to separate from the Northern States? They run the Africans over to the Southern States and sold them; shortly after tried to rob and take them from their owners, without compensation. Is such conduct in accordance with their obligation? I write these things that the people may see and know the truth—not in support of secession, for no man on earth can be more opposed to the Southern secession than I am. The Union is what I want to be restored to its original purity, and every one of the United States to comply with all the obligations entered into, to protect and defend each other against all attacks made against us, or any of us, on any account whatever, and then love and unity would exist. We never could be made to love each other by murdering and killing each other, and in the situation all of us are in, there is great danger, for if we were to get into a war with some other strong government, the South might join in with that power and destroy every thing the North has, and bring ourselves under a foreign power. I speak this not that I know anything, but it is human nature. It is certainly better to be friends than enemies, and the only way to be friends and keep friendship, is to do right with each other. So far as the secession of South Carolina was concerned, I do not consider it was doing any injury to the North. The injury done was entirely to the South—they were trying to get the people's government of the South destroyed, and bring the people of the South under the greatest military despotism like the abolition party, in trying to get the North and South both in, and the secessionists helping them. Now, in my showing that the South had done the North no harm, it was not to justify a course pursued, for if the South had done what they ought to have done, and what I wanted them to do, was to carry their case into the Court of the United States, and have our rights acknowledged there, and if the Abolitionists had refused to submit to the decision of the United States Court they would be guilty of treason, and if the Courts had called on the President to execute the laws, and if he would refuse, he

could be broke of his commission; and if he aided or assisted in the resistance of the decision of the Courts, he would be guilty of treason; then all the good Union men at the North would have assisted in protecting the South, but that course would have settled all those party combinations and prevented them from getting the people under the military power. Now, this is the course I have tried to show was pursued by the Webster abolition party, and if established as a standard of government, and which this present administration is carrying out, it would destroy the constitutional rights of the people as completely as if they never had a right, being the same kind of government offered the people by the separate State Rights doctrine, would do if their principles were carried out, and as I will now attempt more fully to show what kind of a government they intend to establish over the people when they get our government destroyed, and themselves enthroned under the military power, for they have not got the people as fully under them as they intend, and of this I think I can convince any sane man, when I compare Mr. Calhoun's platform with Clay's and Webster's.

I will now commence showing Calhoun's platform of principles, which will correspond very well with Clay and Webster's, in taking the power all from the people, and places a power in the legislators; also, in destroying all the provisions of the Constitution, as Clay's party and Webster's has done. Let us see what Mr. Calhoun has to perform to finish the destruction of the people's government, under authority of the Constitution. His platform was this: that every State was a separate sovereign State, had a right to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and measure of defence, and they were under no obligation, only their own will; neither should they suffer themselves to be under any other. That they have the right to decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and measure and defence. And there was no lawful arbiter could be found sufficiently impartial to decide against the State; therefore, none was provided. Now, to prove that is false, the Constitution of the United States provides that the judicial court of the United States shall extend to all cases of law and equity, aris-

ing under the Constitution of the United States, to all cases in which the United States shall be a party. Two or more States, or different States, and in all cases where a State shall be a party, it shall have the original jurisdiction. So you see the first declaration has not the shadow of authority, and, if adopted, would destroy every part of power of the people's government. If we had no court and jury we would have no government. But let us see who he applies the word State to. They ask the question in their address, accompanying the ordinance of 1832, in it, Who can alter and destroy the government? Is it the States, or is it the people? It will be seen they make the States one party, and the people another. The address answered the question itself. It says: The States, as States, ratified the compact. The people of the United States had no agency in forming the government; that there is not now, nor never has been, such a political body as the people of the United States. That the extent of the power does not depend on the people of the United States, but upon the State Legislatures. They have the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people; the clear right to declare the extent of their obligation, and, when once declared, the people had no course but to obey. And if they refused obedience so as to bring them under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereigns, and within the severe pains and penalties of the the legislators, in their high and sovereign power, will not fail to provide for their self-defence, the faults and folly will be their own.

Now, the defence put up in behalf of all who claim the right of sovereignty, the penalty is death, if you speak against any act they pass, or resist it in any manner whatever. Now, they brought up a bill defining what should be considered treason against the State, which was, if any one spoke against any act passed by the legislators, or resisted it in any manner whatever, the penalty should be death, without the benefit of the clergy, which means, without any chance of being reprieved. This bill was not passed. I could give the reasons why, but I think it is not necessary, at present. They also provided that no one should hold an office of profit or trust, civil or military, mem-

ber of the Legislature excepted, unless they would take an oath well and truly, to obey, execute and enforce the ordinance, and whatever every act the legislators passed, to the full extent and true meaning of the same. They also provided that in no case wherein was drawn in question the authority of the ordinance, or in any act in pursuance of the same, no judge or jury should be permitted to set on the trial unless they should first take an oath that they would well and truly obey, execute, impose the ordinance, and whatever act the legislators shall pass in pursuance of the same. They further provided, that in no case wherein was drawn in question the ordinance or any act passed by the legislators, in pursuance of the same, no appeal, or a copy of appeal, should be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States; and if any one attempted to take an appeal, or copy of an appeal, the person attempting to take an appeal, or copy of an appeal, should be dealt with for contempt of the court. They provided, also, that there should be no appeal from the decision of a court-martial. Now, when there is no appeal from any court, that would, inevitably, place it above all other courts. Now, any one of those provisions adopted by the ordinance, and the address accompanying the ordinance, is strictly against the principles of the Constitution of the people, under those fixed, established principles that they all agreed to be governed by themselves, and govern others by. For the Constitution provides that the military powers shall be in subordination to the civil power.

It will be seen that the oath required by the secessionists was to support and defend all acts the legislators passed, instead of the Constitution of the United States. It is in strict accordance with the oath required to be taken by the abolition administration, and what is very astonishing, I never have heard one of the head secessionists find any fault to the oath, but takes it freely, and encourages all others to take it, without finding any fault to it whatever. Now, both the abolitionist and secessionist pretend they are supporting and defending the people's government in their secured rights under the Constitution. But, do not actions speak louder than words? Both those parties claimed to be over the people, and transferred to



the legislators and the proclamations of the President as great power as has ever been claimed over any people upon earth, in ancient or modern times. Now, if there is no appeal from the military, it would establish the military above all other laws, and the legislators having power to make any law they pleased, and being under no obligation, only their own will, they could place the punishment of any kind they thought fit, to be tried by the military court, and as in no case wherein was drawn in question the ordinance, or any act the legislators would pass, the same might be tried without being plead, and that there shall be no appeal had in the case, so that if a citizen was to dispute any act the legislators passed, or the authority of the ordinance, or if some malicious person charged him falsely, he was not allowed to put the trial off, until he could obtain witnesses to prove his innocence; and they could try him without his case being plead, and as the definition of treason was that if they spoke against any acts passed by the legislators, or resisted it in any manner whatever, the penalty was death, without any chance of being reprieved; and the secession party also provided that in no case wherein was drawn in question the authority of the ordinance, or any act passed by the legislators in pursuance of the same, no judge nor jury shall be permitted to set on the trials, unless they shall first take an oath, well and truly to obey, execute and enforce the ordinance, and whatever acts the legislators pass, to the full extent and true meaning of the same. They provided, also, that the legislators should have power to prescribe to officers and citizens, from time to time, what oath of allegiance they shall take, and define what should constitute treason against States; and also the punishment annexed to treason. Now, all those provisions were adopted, and many others to secure the power of the people, under the authority of the Legislature, that they had attempted to do under the ordinance of 1832, and as I have shown. They knew well what principles to adopt to secure the life, liberty and property in themselves, for the law was, if you spoke against them, or resisted them in any manner whatever, the penalty was death, without any chance of being reprieved; and no judge or jury was permitted to set on the trial without first being sworn to



decide in favor of them, and against citizens, they having power to make any laws they pleased, and they would have placed all cases in military courts, and enforce all the laws under military courts as the Abolition administration is doing at this time. Now, it will be seen, the secessionists first laid down the platform, and the Abolitionists adopted it; but the Abolitionists say the people of the Southern States went out of the Union. President Johnson says they never were out of the Union. I say the same.

For in accordance with the provision of the Constitution, they had no power to go out, for the Constitution provides that no State shall ever have power to pass an *ex post facto* law—a law impairing the obligation of contracts. Now, if a State was to go out of the Union it would both be passing an *ex post facto* law, and a law impairing the obligation of contracts, for it would impair every contract that existed between ourselves and the other States, so she could not go out legally. There is another reason that a State could not go out of the Union legally. The Constitution of the United States, being a fixed, and established set of principles, that the people of all the States declared by them to be the supreme law of the land, that they all agreed to be governed by, and to govern all others by, and not by acts of majorities or legislators, and declared that the Constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and that every one in office, throughout the United States, should be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary, and that the Union shall be perpetual. And under those fixed, established set of principles they extended no authority to any one in office, from the constable to the President, but delegated powers. Now, a delegated power is not sovereign power, but a business set apart for every one to do, who may be elected or appointed into office; and it is not left to his own will whether he will discharge the duty of the office which he is elected or appointed to do, but he is sworn that he will discharge the duty of the office for which he is elected or appointed to do, and that he will support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding

any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, that is the oath required to be taken by the Constitution of the United States, and when any one takes an oath to support and defend it, it includes every word in the Constitution, not acts of legislatures, nor majorities, nor proclamations of the President, unless it is in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. But whenever an officer has discharged the duty of the office for which he was elected or appointed, his power ceases to go any further; and if he does act beyond delegated power, his acts are binding on no one, but if such officers should insist that they had the right to enforce such acts on the citizens, or any one, the citizen has the right to refuse to obey such acts, and have the case carried to the Court of the United States, and show that no such power was delegated to create such laws; and if no such power ever had been delegated, the Court would be bound to pronounce such acts null and void, and no law.

And herein lies the great security of the life, liberty and property, and the persons, papers, houses and effects, and not the elective franchise. But the elective franchise is good in its place, as I will show hereafter. But the great security for our rights is, that we have extended no power to any one in office, from the constable to the President, but what is expressly named. Every provision in the Constitution is a law of protection against the acts of wrongs that might be attempted by our agents. Now, every power delegated to Congress is expressly named, that is, set apart for them to do, and after naming all the business set apart for them to legislate upon, the Constitution then provides first, that Congress shall have power to make all laws necessary and proper to carry out the foregoing laws into power. Now, it must be necessary and proper that a law should be made, before they have power to make any law. The Constitution of the United States provides that the power not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, is reserved to States respectively, or the people. This shows clearly that Congress has no power but what is expressly delegated, and the States have no powers that they are prohibited from having, and as the Constitution

of the United States provides that no State should ever have power to pass an *ex post facto law*, nor law impairing the obligations of contracts.

Now, this provision of the Constitution secures and confines the action of all the States within the bounds of the Constitution of the United States, so that they cannot impair any agreement or contract existing under the Constitution of the United States; and as Congress possesses no power but what is expressly delegated, it confines their acts within the bounds of the Constitution of the United States; and no act of either of those two legislations, outside of their delegated authority, is binding on any officer or citizen of the United States, nor no law, as I have shown, but is utterly null and void. But in order to make it legally null and void, it would be necessary to have the case before the legal arbiter, appointed by the constitutional court, who is invested with power to decide in all cases of law and equity, arising under the Constitution; and this is the course I recommend to all the citizens, North and South, to pursue in time to come. For you see what dreadful destruction of life, liberty and property has been brought on by both North and South, and has been forced upon us by the illegal proceedings and unconstitutional proceedings of both parties, and by their intrigues got the people under military power, and compelled us to rob, kill, murder and destroy each other, like we were heathens, when we had a plain, simple remedy to settle all disputes by law. Look at the debt that hangs over us, and by military proceedings, all over the Southern States, is still increasing the debt, pretending it was preventing the Southern States from insurrection, and to keep them in the Union. Myself and the President asserts they never have been out of the Union. I will admit that all the acts of the secessionists and the Clay party, and abolition administration, was all out of the Union. But the territorial boundary, and all the true Union men who were, and are willing to conform themselves to all the obligations entered into under the Union, cannot be considered out of the Union, and each man, South and North, had no legal right to secede from the Union, nor put others out. But let us see what position the secessionists occupied, to go out and drag

every one out with themselves, and see whether they had any authority, or the Abolitionists either, and how they both acted to get the people under military power. In the first place, the people of the United States divided their government in two legislative departments, but each of those departments have their business set apart, what they shall legislate upon. The Legislature of a State is not responsible to Congress for any act they pass, neither is Congress responsible for any act they pass, to the State, but they must be responsible to some one; and let us see who that is, and if we want to know who it is that they are to be responsible to, we must see who created them. It was the people created them, and also the Constitution of the United States, and bound all of them by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, the people created the Constitution and the Legislatures, and they are accountable to the people, and no one else, and not accountable to one another. Each of them have their business set apart to do, and neither of them has power to legislate on the business set apart for the other to do. Congress has power delegated to legislate on all the national affairs, but with proper prohibitions and restrictions to their limited power. Such as no tax nor duty shall be laid on any article exported from any State; no article shall enter free in one port and pay duties in another; duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. Then the Legislatures of the States—their business set apart to do—are to legislate on all the domestic affairs of the States, with proper prohibitions and restrictions, to keep them within the proper bounds of their legislation. Such as no State shall enter into any treaty or compact with another State, nor with a foreign power, and many other prohibitions and restrictions, so as to confine the State legislation within its legislation, set apart for them to legislate on. And this is one of the great beauties of our government; for by dividing the legislations into two departments, it divides legislation in such manner as it does not fix too much burden on any one set of legislators. The legislation can be done in harmony and security. The people have not extended any



power to any one in office, but delegated powers, and in those delegated powers they have given no power to take even the value of a pin from the people, as I have shown in the first part of this work. Now, under these circumstances, how is it possible for a State to go out of the Union? But let us see what sort of a plan the secessionists of South Carolina assumed, to have the right to go out of the Union, and how they acted. They pretended that they had the right to call a convention and decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and measure of redress, and be under no obligation only their own will, notwithstanding the Constitution of the United States provided that no State should have power to pass an *ex post facto law*—a law impairing the obligation of contracts, and that the Union should be perpetual. Now let us see what power is delegated to a State Convention. The power delegated to a State Convention is, they have power to propose amendments to the Constitution of their own State, but they have no power to make any amendment, nor do any other act that would be binding on any one. It requires the consent of two-thirds of both Houses to give their consent, but they must advertise what they propose, three months previous to the election of another set of legislators, and it has to be read three times, on three separate days, and agreed to in their first session by two-thirds of both Houses. Then, and not until then, it becomes a part of the Constitution of the State. Now, that is all the power that is delegated to the convention of a State. But, let us see how this mob convention in South Carolina did, when a few secessionists elected them, and they went down to Columbia. They assumed to be judges. They decided by themselves, and for themselves, against the General Government, and decided between a people and their own government. They pronounced the people out of their own government, but, at the same time, adopted the original Constitution of the United States as the standard of government; neither did the people of the Southern States ever want any other government than the government under the Constitution of the United States; neither do they want any other rights than is secured to them by the Constitution of the United States; and when they were

called on by the leaders of secession to organize under military organization, it was to defend their homes, their firesides and families against the Abolition raiders, who were forming military bands to murder and rob, and utterly destroy us, when, at the same time, they were bound by the articles of the Union that they would support and defend every one who was a member of the Union against all attacks, made against us, or any of us, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever. This being the case, how could the people be out of the Union? We have the right to organize ourselves, to protect ourselves against illegal bands of robbers, under the authority of the Constitution, and those who pronounced the people of the Southern States out of the Union, had no power to do so, nor the States either; so, as far as the people of the Southern States are concerned, they never have had any desire, nor could go out, unless they would commit treason. Now, I think, I have shown very clearly that the President and myself are right, when we say that none of the States were out of the Union; because, no one had power to put us out, nor had we any legal authority to go out ourselves. For the Constitution provided that the Union should be perpetual. If there was but one loyal citizen in a State, who was a member of the Union, every citizen in the United States, in accordance with the agreement, under the Union, is bound to support and defend him in every right secured to each other.

But how does the Abolition party stand, in that respect, to the people of the South, under Mr. Lincoln's administration, when the secessionists could have no other power in a State Convention than to propose amendments, but illegally assumed the powers of judges to decide against the General Government, and to decide between the people and their own government, and pronounce them out of their government, and created a new government, and forced the people, under military powers, as I have formerly shown? Now, let us see how Lincoln did. Mr. Lincoln assumes to be a judge, like the secessionists. He decided that South Carolina was out of the Union. He also declared war against South Carolina, and said he would whip South Carolina back into the Union. Now, Mr. Lincoln

had just about the same right to become a judge to decide whether South Carolina was, or was not out of the Union as the secessionists had to do what they did, or to declare war either. For the Constitution of the United States provides that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases of law and equity arising under the Constitution of the United States, in all cases where the United States was a party—two or more States—and in all cases where a State was a party, the United States Courts would have the original jurisdiction.

Now, it will be seen that, Mr. Lincoln assumed the place of the Judicial Court, and decided against South Carolina by himself, without any court and jury, just like the secessionists did, each one of those parties usurping powers not delegated, but prohibited each party, in place of calling the courts to their assistance, called for military power, and in this way, by false representation, succeeded in getting a sufficient military power to force the whole of the United States to come under their military power. Now, all those things look very much like a concerted plan between them to get the people under military power. Now, let us see, in the next place, and examine how far Mr. Lincoln's authority extended towards declaring war against South Carolina. Now, I wish the reader of this work to always bear in mind, that no power has been extended to any one in office, from the constable to the President, but delegated powers; and there is no power given to the President to judge or decide any case whatever, and it will be seen that his judgment, as far as it went, was a perfect nullity, and without any legal authority, just like the convention of the secessionists. Now let us see what the Constitution of the United States says in regard to declaring war. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress power to declare war and make peace between us and foreign powers, but it does not give Congress power to declare war against a citizen of the United States, nor against a State, because there is a law provided to settle all cases of law and equity arising under the Constitution; and in all cases where a State was a party, the United States Court had the original jurisdiction. It will be

seen that Lincoln or Congress had no right to declare war, unless the case had been first brought before the United States Court, and fairly tried, and if the courts had decided against the proceedings of the secessionists, which I have no doubt they would, and if the secession party had resisted, by the force of arms, it would then have amounted to an insurrection; then Congress would have had a right to put down such an insurrection. Now, this is the way the people have been forced under these two great leaders of mobs—the one pretending their object was to preserve the Union, and the other that they were fighting for their liberty and independence, when both parties, as I have before shown, were destroying every part of those provisions which gave and secured to the people every right, liberty and protection any honest man could desire, and enthroning themselves with more power than any King, Prince or Potentate possesses on earth. And this is what those two parties have been after all the while; and they knew that they could not destroy the people's government without dividing the people into two parties, nor take their liberty from them, unless they got them under military power. To show you the wisdom of those two parties, neither of them proceeded against each other by law. Now, in the eye of the law, every one is to be presumed honest until proved guilty before a court and jury. Now, their proceedings were never brought before a court and jury, neither has the proceedings of the Abolitionists, which would place those parties both as mobs. Now, let us see if the Abolitionists are not as far out of the Union as the South could get. We agreed to support and defend each other against attacks made against us, or any of us, on account of religion, trade or any other pretence whatever, which covered every thing that could be thought of or named. Have the Abolitionists complied with that agreement? They did not. The citizens of each State were to have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and no duties or restrictions were to be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them. Did the Abolitionists ever comply with that part of the Union? They did not. The citizens of each State were to be secure in their persons, houses and effects.



Did they assist any of the citizens of the Southern States in that security or protection? They did not. The Constitution of the United States provides that no law or regulation shall be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of another State; but if a servant, or person bound to service, shall escape or flee to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant, or person bound to service. Have the Abolitionists complied with that part of the Union? They have not. Does not the Constitution of the United States provide that no private property shall be taken for public use, without full compensation to the owner? Have the Abolitionists complied with that part of the Union? They have not. Does not the same Constitution provide that the military power shall be subordinate to the civil? Have they complied with that part of the Union? Have they not used the military power in robbing, murdering, taking away and destroying all our property, and prohibiting us from the commerce of the whole world? Now, this military power was introduced for the protection of every right, liberty and property, against the attacks of all foreign powers and domestic violence. But I ask for what purpose those Abolitionists use this military power? They have dragged many honest men from their homes and families, both North and South! I do not blame the people on either side, but I blame the leaders on both sides.

How many poor unfortunate women have lost their husbands, and how many parents have lost their sons, who might have been, if spared, a help and stay to them in their old age? And all to gratify the Abolitionists in robbing the people of the South of their African property, and pretending they were preserving the Union, which I have shown, in every act they have passed, is destroying every part of the Union, just like the secessionists have been doing. Now, this African property was tried in the Dred Scott case, and decided that they were property, and as much entitled to protection as any other property in the United States. Have they complied with the decision of

that Court? They have not. But their acts, in this case, are like the rest of their acts of Abolitionism. They are placing all the power in the Legislatures, and leaving no power in the people. For if we establish power as the Abolitionists have attempted, under the name of amendment, to take away one part of our property, what is to hinder them to take all the property? as the Secessionists Convention declared they had the right to do. And under their regulations with the military and legislative power, they claim neither North or South have any security for life, liberty or property. Look what an immense debt they have created over us, and are still increasing! A heavy debt by keeping a standing army! Our President desires the troops dispersed, and, I believe, he is honest, and desires to restore the Union to the people in its original purity; and, I think, will do it, if the people will help him. South and North he deserves great praise for what he has done in part. He brought the war to a close, and is trying to do what he can, but the great ignorance of the people, in regard to the plan of government, gives the President trouble, and is at great disadvantage, but to teach them what is their true interest North and South.

I have written this work in order to assist him in getting the North and South to throw away those disunion parties, and all fall back under the Constitution in its original purity. Because you see every principle adopted by Clay, Calhoun and Webster, all run into the same channel to destroy all the provisions of the Constitutions, both of the States, and the Constitution of the United States, which is the people's government, and enthrone all powers over the people, under the control of the Legislatures, both of the States, and of the United States, as ever has existed under any king, prince or potentate, heathen not excepted, and they to be under no obligation, only their own will, more than any king, prince or potentate; nor neither should they suffer themselves, under any

other obligation. Now, this is their own language, which proves that I have made no false charge against them. Now, those three men, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, were all lawyers, and men of great intellect. How is it possible that they could have overlooked the true principles of the Constitution and adopted principles so opposite to those of the Constitution, as I have described, unless they had some other object in view to what they professed to the people? And let us look somewhat further into their principles, and see what kind of government their principles would naturally force us under, for you see, under the Calhoun platform, under the ordinance of 1832, they would not admit of any allegiance to any other than the State, and those the State transferred their allegiance to. Now, from this remark, it would seem that this was not the kind of government they intended to remain under, or they would not have been so careful to have provided for a transfer. Now, let us look and see what kind of government it could make, in accordance with Mr. Calhoun's platform. Each State was to be a separate State, under no obligation, only their own will, more than any king, prince, or potentate, neither should they suffer themselves under any other, and they applied the word State to mean the Legislatures. They asked the question, who created, and who can destroy the government? Is it the States or the people? They answer the question in the address accompanying the ordinances themselves. The States, they say, ratified the compact. The people of the United States had no agency in the formation of the government. That there is not now, nor has there ever been, such a political body as the people of the United States. The extent of the power does not depend on the people, but upon the State Legislatures; that they have the absolute control over both the lives, liberty and property of the people; that they have the clear right to declare the extent of their obligation, and, when once declared, the people had no course but to obey. But if they refuse obedience,

so as to bring themselves under the severe pains and penalties, by which their high and sovereign power, the Legislature, will not fail to provide for their self-defence. The fault and folly will be their own. Each State has a right to decide for herself, and choose her own mode and measure of defence; and that there could not be found any lawful arbiter sufficiently impartial enough to decide against them. Therefore, there was none provided. Now, you will see this is the power claimed by Mr. Calhoun's platform, for the Legislatures of each State. Now, let us carry out Mr. Calhoun's platform, and see what kind of a government it will make, and perhaps we can see what those three parties have been after all this time. We will, in the first place, establish all the powers in the hands of the Legislatures, contended for, under the Calhoun platform, and we will say each State is a separate, sovereign State, with all the powers over the people claimed, and they under no obligation, only their own will, with all the powers claimed, this would establish as many separate governments as there were States in the United States, all under no obligation, only their own will. Now, if they were under no obligations than their own will, there could not be any agreement existing between those different governments and if no agreement existed, no Union could exist; so, you see, Calhoun's platform of government destroys the people's government out of existence as completely as if it never had existed, and placed us under the form of government that all heathens act under. Every heathen chieftain controls a certain territorial boundary, and is under no other obligation, than his own will; and all heathens are controlled by self-gratification. They care not how much others may suffer, so that they are gratified. We will establish Mr. Calhoun's States Right sovereignty, and examine it a little further. We will suppose that Georgia and South Carolina are two separate governments, under no obligation, only their own will, and will not suffer themselves to be under any other; and we\* will suppose, which



will be a very reasonable supposition, that a parcel of rogues shall settle on both sides of Savannah river, and cross the river and steal horses, or any other property ; the only way we would have to get any redress for the wrongs done us would be to apply to the Legislature of the State to call on the government of Georgia for redress, for the wrongs done ; but we would, in the first place, have to obtain positive proof that it was a citizen of Georgia that had committed the trespass, whether stealing, murder, or robbery, you would, perhaps, have to take with you friends to obtain that fact ; but while you were attempting to obtain those facts, so as to be prepared to give satisfactory proof that it was a citizen of Georgia had done you the injury complained of, they might privately tell you, or your friends, who went with you, or both ; but we will suppose you succeed in getting all the proof necessary to satisfy those separate States Rights sovereigns, that you are claiming but what is right, and they apply to the government of Georgia to redress the wrongs done by a citizen of Georgia, to a citizen of the sovereign State of South Carolina. Suppose the government of Georgia sends back word we are under no obligation than our own will, we are not bound to protect you against theft and robbery or murder. Protect yourselves. What kind of a government is this they are trying to bring us under ? What kind of security could the people have under such a government ? For has South Carolina sufficient military power to force Georgia to respect our rights ? Do the people not see what destruction of life, liberty and property would occur under such a government as that ? But we would be in the very same fix that the heathen governments are, and soon destroy each other, and in all probability become heathens ourselves, under such a form of government. But all those difficulties were fixed for, to bring us under the kind of government they intended to bring the people under, by those three parties, or I am mistaken ; if I am, I wish to be undeceived. But let us look a little fur-

ther, and as the address accompanying the ordinance of 1832, provides that they would not admit of any allegiance but to the Legislatures, and those they transferred their allegiance to. Let us see what kind of a government they are making, that will make it necessary to make a transfer of allegiance from the State. We will go on and establish as many governments in the United States as there are States, all under no obligation only their own will. Let us see how commerce is to be extended to all those different governments if South Carolina was acknowledged as a separate, independent government. She could enter into treaties and compacts with other governments, to carry on commerce with other nations, because she has ports to send goods out and receive goods in, but there is Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and all the back States—they could not enter into any treaty or compact with any other government, for they had no ports to send goods out nor receive goods in. Therefore, they could not enter into commerce with any other government. And all the other States preserved the principles laid down by Mr. Calhoun, to be under no obligations only their own will, neither should they suffer themselves to be under any other. Now, let us see how this defect can be remedied so as to extend commerce to all those different States. There are only three ways that I know of, by which commerce is extended between different governments. One is under the authority of Kings, another is an Emperor, and the third is under the authority of a republican form of government like ours. Now, to preserve those separate sovereignties, there is but one way it can be done, and that is to make a King in every State, and an Emperor, and extend commerce to all the different governments, through an Emperor. Now, it is impossible for any other kind of government to be formed out of their platform of government.

Now, it will be recollected Mr. Calhoun observed, under the working of those parties, we would be obliged to come

under a monarchical government of some kind or other, and that no constitution had ever been created worthy of the name, and he doubted if there ever would be one; but he, at the same time, applauded monarchical governments very much. Now, as I have shown that Mr. Calhoun's platform of government could do nothing else but to destroy the government of the people, and bring us under the worst of monarchical governments on earth. I do not know of any one that had a better right to know that the workings of those party principles would bring us under a monarchical government, than Mr. Calhoun, who had created them for the express purpose, or he must have labored under great error. Now you see, at the commencement of the war, cotton was the great king, that would bring everybody to our assistance; but king cotton died, and no one came to our assistance, but king emergency came and took king cotton's place, and forced everybody and all the property into the hands of the military power. And just so if we establish those separate States Rights governments, king emergency will cause us to make kings in every State, and then emergencies will require us to make an Emperor, so that we can extend commerce to every government, ports or no ports. Then king emergency will require us to be taxed to build palaces for the Emperor, and all the different kings to live in; and emergencies will require us to be taxed to furnish princely fortunes for each king and emperor to live in princely royalty and grandeur every year. We will also be taxed to keep up a great many royal officers to carry on their royal governments. We will also be taxed to keep up a standing army, to keep the people from insurrection against them. We will be taxed to pay all the necessary wants of government besides. Those taxes will be so numerous that the people cannot live and pay them. They will then sell the people's land for taxes, and appoint agents to buy in the people's land for the government, as they will call it, and they will settle and fix the landed property in certain lords,

like they do in other monarchical governments, and if the Legislatures are placed in such power as all these three parties have claimed, and are now acting on, and carrying out under Lincoln's abolition administration, and amending the Constitution to give them power to carry out these powers and fix the powers in legislators and Congress, to emancipate one part of our property, what would hinder them to emancipate and take any kind of property we have? Now, this is establishing a government of robbery in place of a government of protection. Now, under such a system of government could any one, who is a member of this government, North or South, have any security for either life, liberty or property? There would be no foundation for them to establish any security on. All would have to depend on the will of the Legislature. and if you disputed their authority, and they would take every thing from you, they would decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and measure of redress; and if you brought yourselves under the displeasure of your only and lawful sovereign, and within the severe pains and penalties by which their high and sovereign power, the legislatures, would not fail to provide in their self-defence, the fault and folly would be their own. This language applies to the principles of Calhoun's platform, yet it equally applies to the principles of the abolition party, for they have refused to comply with every obligation entered into under the Constitution, and created laws, by acts of the Legislatures, both by the State, and now in the Congress of the United States, right in opposition to the laws of the Constitution, and have used the military power which was created for the purpose of supporting civil law, and in place of applying the military law to protect the civil law, applied it in robbing, murdering and destroying the people, when both oath and duty, and the law of the Union, would bind them to protect each member of the Union. Now, if the people, North or South, encourages this power to be fixed in the Legislatures, and they under



no obligation only their will, and they decide for themselves, as they have done, and choose their own mode and measure of redress over the people, what will hinder them from establishing such a government over us as I have described? And I defy and challenge the world to show that any other kind of government can be created out of their principles. Now, I wish to show the people the great necessity of resisting this power immediately, and in what way to resist it successfully and easily.

First. I will endeavor to show the great reason this illegal and unconstitutional principle should be protested against, claimed by legislators as sovereign powers, when, under the authority of the Constitution, they possess no powers but delegated, and all other powers not delegated, are expressly prohibited, which is the only way legislation can be confined within its proper bounds. But suppose we change our government, and let the legislators be under no obligation, only their own will. They could create any kind of government over us they pleased, and we will suppose that it is their object to create a King in every State, and an Emperor, it would be one of the strongest in the world, and the hardest to resist their power. We will suppose one State could succeed in forming an insurrection against the usurped King of a State, in order to sustain their original rights, secured to them under the Constitution, the Emperor would send armies to help to sustain the King in power over the people, and crush the people of the State immediately; so they never could have it in their power to get out from under the power of those monarchs. Now, this is the reason why I say the people have no time to lose to begin to act in their defence, for they have gained two very important points over the people, in order to carry out all those powers over the people. One is in getting the people divided into two parties, and the other is in getting the military power in their own hands, and the people, without any leader to direct or guide them in what is right or wrong,

and the Radicals, as they are called, are trying to keep the people divided by their threats of still inflicting further injuries on the South, and enforcing the military power over the people. But is this military power not over the North as well as the South? Do not the Northern people have to furnish the men to keep up this military force, and are not the Northern people under the wink and nod of their military chieftains? Did not the Northern troops believe all they were fighting for was to get the people of the South to go back into the Union? But when the South agreed to go back into the Union they would not consent. They should not go back unless they would take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all acts passed by Congress, and all proclamations of the President, and the emancipation of their African property, notwithstanding no power has ever been delegated, by the Constitution of the United States, to any power or powers on earth to require any other oath than that of the Constitution itself. Is this not carrying the power, as fast as it can, into the hands of the legislatures and officers, and from the people? The people and officers took all the oaths they required in order to get back in the Union, for they were forced to do so by military threats, and, by doing so, were promised pardon and admittance, back under the Union. Now, if I understand the meaning of pardon, it means the acquittal of the offence they are charged with, in every sense. But, after all this, they would not admit them into the Union; but add and fix a great many other terms that must be complied with, before they will admit them in the Union. Now, you will examine the Constitution of the United States; it gives Congress no power to fix the terms that a State shall come into the Union. The Constitution fixes the terms that a State shall come into the Union itself. Every State that comes into the Union, has to come in under the same agreement all the rest came in under. The officers of every State in the United States had to take an oath to

support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, this shows that every State has to come into the Union under the same agreement the rest did, and also the Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall have power to pass an *ex post facto law*, a law impairing the obligation of contracts. This shows clearly their object is to destroy the Union, and not preserve it. Now, this shows the Constitution of the United States has fixed the terms itself, and that Legislatures of Congress or the Legislatures of States, neither of them have any power, under the authority of the Constitution, to fix any terms at all. All the power any of them have is to conform to the principles fixed and established in the Constitution of the United States. So you will see that every principle adopted by the Abolition administration is right in opposition to the principles adopted by the Constitution; and, in accordance with the secession principles of Calhoun, and, if adopted and established, would leave it in the power of the legislators to rob every member of such a Union as they offer to the people to come under. Now, I will not class the people of the North or the people of the South with the leaders of the North and South, for they must be innocent of any bad designs or bad intentions, for every principle adopted by the leaders of those parties was strictly against the people's interests, and all good, honest men's interests, none of whom could be benefitted, but utterly destroyed.

But let us see, in the first place, what great crime the South has done, that they deserve this great wrath on the part of the Abolitionists. The legislative members of the Southern States, either in the States, nor in Congress, neither of them have passed any acts, nor attempted to pass any acts, that would deprive any citizen of the Northern States of any right secured to them in their States, nor anywhere in the United States; neither did they vote for any one for that purpose; but as far as my knowledge goes, they complied with every obligation they had entered into to the United States. But how does it stand be-

tween the North and South? Have they not refused to comply with every obligation they have entered into with the South? Did not the Constitution secure the right to every citizen of the United States, to have free ingress and egress into any other State, and take his property with him, and that no duties or restrictions should be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them? Now, they passed acts by the Legislatures that the Southern people should not take their property into their State, and they passed duties and restrictions that if we moved into their States, they would rob us of our African property. Now, we owned no other property but what kind of property we owned when we went into the Union. The agreement, under the Constitution was, that no law or regulation should be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of another State; but if a servant, or person bound to service, shall escape and flee from one State to another State, they shall be bound to deliver such servant, or person bound to service, to the proper owner. Now, they did not only forget the obligation of their oath to comply with that obligation, but they created laws that if a servant, or person bound to service, should escape and flee to their State, they should be free, and if any one attempted to rescue such servant, or person bound to service, or if any one should aid or assist in delivering such servant to his owner, they should be fined and imprisoned to a large extent. Also, they passed laws that a State coming out of a Territory, that the people of the Territory, by their majorities, had the right to prevent the owners of African property should not be permitted to move into their State with the restriction that they should be robbed of their African property, when the Territory belonged as much to the slave owner as any one else. Now, this was laying duties on the property of the Southerners, right in opposition to the laws of the Constitution.

Now, when the people of the South had remonstrated against their illegal and unconstitutional proceedings, and they still refused to comply, the South told them that they would separate themselves from them as long as they were unwilling to comply with the terms of the Union, and have a government of their



own. But they would not consent for us to quit them; but, in place of agreeing to comply with the terms of the Union, they would rob us as much as they pleased, by acts of Legislatures. Now, the people of the South were taught by the secessionists that they had the right, under the Constitution, by acts of majorities, to dispossess us of every thing we possessed. Now, under those circumstances, is it any wonder that the people of the South would wish to separate themselves from a people that were bound, by a firm league of friendship, to support and defend each other against all attacks made against us on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any pretence whatever, and they bound by their honor and oath to do so, and they robbing and depriving us of every right secured to us under the Constitution of the United States? Is it any wonder that such a course pursued by the Abolitionists, that the citizens of the Southern States should wish, or be easily persuaded, to withdraw themselves from the Abolitionists? Now, all this looks as a concerted plan, on both the secessionists and Abolitionists, in order to get the people under military power, for the Cincinnati Convention, the Calhoun platform, declared that it should not be denied but that a State had the right to emancipate. Now, all those who went to the Convention were lawyers, and the people believed they knew the character and principles of the Constitution, and by such statements being made to them that they had no way to escape the robbery that was offered but to go out of the Union. They never told the people that there was a lawful arbiter appointed, by which they could be protected against acts of Legislatures, but told the people there was no one could be found sufficiently impartial to decide against acts of Legislatures, and that none were appointed. That each of the State Legislatures had the right to decide for themselves and choose their own mode and measure of redress. Therefore, there was no other way to get clear of the robbery threatened by the Abolitionists, and the Abolitionists performed their part in destroying the Union, still threatening they would continue their robbery. Now take into consideration the great ignorance of the people North and South. The people cannot be to blame, because by false statements and false representa-

tions they got the people divided into parties, and by that means got them under military power. Now, one of those parties could not have got the people under military power by themselves. It took both of them to do it. The secessionists told the people their remedy was a peaceable remedy. Some of those head parties went so far as to say they would drink all the blood that would be shed in the conflict for a breakfast dram. But, like many other promises, have never been done. This promise was made, but like the story of the babes of the woods, never fulfilled. Many promises were made to the people. We were to become the richest people in the world, if we would only go out of the Union; but I never believed one word they said. I understood the character of our government, and I knew if the South or North left the Union, we would be the worst destroyed people the sun ever shone upon; and that to go out of the Union was only to relinquish every right, liberty or protection, already secured to us under the government established by ourselves, and place ourselves under the control of legislative power, and leave them under no obligation only their own will, without any check or chance to resist them; but to more fully deceive us, those two parties both pretended they were preserving the Union. Is it possible that a Union could be preserved by one party robbing another party? Is it possible, that by robbing the minority, it would make them love you? And was not our Union based on a league of friendship? What is better to secure friendship than to comply with all the agreements they enter into with each other?

Now, as I leave the people free from blame, so far as they are concerned, and as they have both sides been deceived by the leaders of both parties, and dragged out of the Union, and forced under one of the most cruel monarchical governments on earth, as I have shown. My advice is, let the people at once, with one accord, throw away all those parties, and all go back into the Union in its original purity, and restore back all property taken from the people on both sides, and make restoration for all wrongs that can be done, and by so doing, we will not only renew our lost Union, destroyed by those designing par-

ties, but we will renew that union of love between each one that ought to have existed, and without which no Union can exist; and let us forgive one another as fully as if no wrong had been done, and all who will join in making peace, and in harmonizing and making and doing justice, let him have done what he may before, let all his faults be forgiven, and no more named. Let him be received like the father received his prodigal son, with love and friendship; but, at the same time, I would recommend the people to join everywhere and agree not to elect any one in office who did not acknowledge his error and bind himself to support the principles of the Constitution in its original purity, as I have described, for this is one way we can throw all those designing parties out of office, who have laid the foundation for the destruction of our government. The other plan I will recommend to protect ourselves against those usurpers of power over the rights of the people, is to go into the Courts of the United States, and there show that all their acts of robbery and destruction of life, liberty and property have been done without any legal authority. That no such acts as they have passed have ever been delegated, but on the contrary, are expressly prohibited by the Constitution of the United States, which is all the Union that does, or ever has existed, and have their acts and illegal proceedings pronounced null and void by the legal arbiters. This is the course, and the only and legal course, any one is authorized by the constituted authority of the people, and no other course should ever have been pursued. Now, if the people will all adopt this course, they will soon get from under this military power. Now, the North is under military power as much as the South, and they are no more secure in their rights than the South; for if they can rob the South, what is to hinder them from robbing the North?

Now, it is necessary to show them where their danger lies. We will suppose that I am not mistaken in my opinion what kind of a government the head leaders of those parties intended to bring the people under. After they got the government of the people destroyed, let us see if there are any classes of people in our country that could be benefitted by the destruction of life, liberty and property, that has occurred, if they

should really succeed in establishing a King in every State, and an Emperor who would fill all those royal offices? Would it not be the lawyers who advised us to pursue all the plans and courses we have pursued? Was it not the lawyers? Recollect, Calhoun was a lawyer, Webster was a lawyer, and Clay was a lawyer. Now, if we create an Emperor, a lawyer would fill the office, and have a palace built at the people's expense, and he could fix a tax on us to pay princely fortunes for him, to live in princely royalty every year. He, like all other monarchs, would have to keep a life guard all the time, and a large standing army all the time, to prevent insurrection. If we have a King in every State, who would fill the office of a King? It would be lawyers who would fill all the royal offices, to carry on all those royal governments. It would be lawyers, and who would be obliged to pay all the taxes to keep up all those royal officers in royalty and grandeur. It would be the people, black and white, and they would have to keep up large standing armies to keep the people from insurrection. They would tax the people to feed and clothe, and furnish arms and ammunition, all to keep us in bondage. Then there would be no one free, black nor white. Then they will tax us so high we cannot pay our taxes, and live. They will then sell our lands, and appoint agents to buy it in for the government, as they will call it, and divide all the land to some of the heads of departments. Establish a set of landlords over the people, and make the people pay rent for their own land.

Now, this is the true situation they are trying to bring the people under. See what power they claim at this time, under the name of the Civil Rights Bill. They assume the power to make all persons citizens of the United States, without any qualifications whatever. Now, where has there been any power delegated to Congress to create citizens by any other plan than that laid down by the Constitution? If no power has been delegated, no power exists on their part. Who are making all those unconstitutional laws? It is the lawyers. In the first place, they had no power delegated to them to take from the people their African property, but were expressly prohibited by the Constitution; neither have they any power to give them



the right of citizenship; neither have they a right to legislate on any of the domestic affairs of the people of any State, their legislative power is confined to the national affairs, and is well confined by prohibitions and restrictions, and is the only business set apart for them to do. All this military power and legislation they assume over the domestic affairs of the States, like the rest of their legislation, are usurped powers, without one shadow of constitutional authority. For the Constitution provides, the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited to the States, is reserved to the States, respectively, or the people. Now, there is no power delegated to the United States in Congress, but the national affairs, and the business set apart for the States to legislate on is the domestic affairs of the State, and neither of those two legislative bodies have any power or authority to legislate on the business set apart for either of them to do. Any attempt to do so is usurped powers, and unconstitutional.

Neither is their act called Amendment, constitutional. It is unconstitutional. In two respects the Constitution provides that amendments may be made only. Now, amendments do not mean to destroy the original, but to make it stronger and better, and if it is an amendment it must accord with the original, or cannot become a part of the Constitution. The Constitution provides that no private property shall be taken for public use without full compensation to the owner. It also provides that the military shall be subordinate to the civil.

Now, this so-called amendment would destroy one of the most important parts of the Constitution, and does not accord with the balance of the Constitution in place of protection against all attacks made against us, or any of us, on any account whatever. It is giving Congress power to rob us, and in place of using the military power to protect us in our civil rights, they are using it to rob us. In case of amendments being made, the Constitution provides that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. Now, when this so-called amendment was passed, a large number of the States were, by Congress, denied any representation, both in the Senate, or any other place. Now, all those acts have

been passed by lawyers. Now, you see, this Congress, under Lincoln's administration, is all this time usurping all the powers over the domestic affairs of the States, and is assuming all powers over the domestic affairs of the States, and pretends they are protecting the Union, both of the people North and South. You may see clearly that they are trying to utterly destroy it, and keep the South out of the Union; and, by so doing, to retain military power over the people after the people took the oath they required, and the President pardoned them, in order that the people of the South could take their place in the Union. They would not consent to receive them into the Union, but passed acts that no one, who was elected by the people of the South, should be permitted to take a seat in Congress, unless he would swear that he had not held an office in the war, under the Confederate army, or sympathized with those of the rebellion. An oath they knew no honest or good man would take, and, in that way, are keeping them out of the Union, when they pretended to the people, in time of the war, they were calling on them to fight to preserve the Union.

Again, during the war, they never made any proposition to the South they could have accepted of. They never offered any other terms but to rob us as much as they pleased. I have not written this in justification of the rebellion, but I have written this in justification of the charge I made against the Abolition administration, and the head secessionists, and show why I still suspect them, and put all the honest people on their watch, and guard, North and South. I am as much a friend to one as the other, if they do right, and I consider the one in as much danger of being destroyed as the other. They have begun on the South first, because they were the fewest in number. I will call the attention of the people of the United States to a proposed amendment, dated April 28th, 1866, agreed to by twelve against three, that until the 4th of July, 1870, all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection, giving it aid or comfort, shall be excluded from the right to vote for members of Congress and electors for the President and Vice President. They provided, also, that Congress shall have power

to enforce, by an appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

I will call the attention of the people of the United States to the proposed amendment of the third and fifth amendments; the third amendment proposed, would exclude every member of the Union of the Southern States from sending a member to Congress of the United States, unless they would swear a positive lie, because every honest man in the Southern States, who believed that they were only resisting the robbery, and attempts on the part of the mobs and raids of the Abolitionists, and believed that the Abolitionists had left them no other way, after they declared war against them, to protect their homes and families, but to fight.

Who could help but to sympathise, for the distress was brought on all the Union men of the South and North, by the abolition robbery. Now, they are not satisfied with the robbery and murder brought about by their unconstitutional proceedings against the South and their own people, but are trying to pass every law they can, to prevent and destroy the Union, for those amendments they propose to make, would deprive the people of having any representation in Congress; and this would prevent any of the Southern States coming in under the Constitution of the United States. Then the fifth proposition is by the way of amendments, that Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. Now you will see that the object of the third proposed amendment is to prevent the Southern States to come into the Union, that they can have some excuse to keep up the military power over the people; and the fifth proposed amendment is to increase power in Congress, under the excuse to prevent insurrection on the part of the South. Why should the Abolitionists be afraid of the South insurrecting against them? Have they done any wrong to the South? Have they been robbing them, destroying their homes, firesides, and their families? If they have not, I will guarantee and insure them against all damages from the South; but I will go further, if they will fall back under the Constitution of the United States in its original purity, and comply with all the obligations entered into, in fu-

ture they will forgive you. For the people of the South desire nothing more than their rights, secured under the Constitution, in its original purity, but to go back under the Abolition robbing government.

I have no desire myself to go, for is not the abolition principle a destroyer of the Union, and all rights secured under it? And in place of protecting the people, North and South, are fixing the power in the Legislatures, both in State and Congress, to rob the people, from one end of the Union to the other. You may, from what I have shown, clearly see that their principles and the secessionists, and compromisers, and separate State sovereignty, all transfers the power from the people and their Constitution into the Legislatures. No other power has ever been attempted by either. Now, I must acknowledge that I have no sympathy for the destroyers of the Constitution; but I have great sympathy for the people, both North and South, who have been so cruelly deceived and misled by false representations and false instructions, which misled thousands on thousands of our best and wisest men astray, and assisted in carrying on all this destruction of life and property, now so plainly to be seen. But suppose I should become more liberal, and come to the conclusion that all that ever has been brought upon us has been done by an error of the head and not of the heart, and that all parties, of their own accord, should come out frankly and acknowledge their error, and all be willing to fall back under the Constitution in its original purity what joy and happiness would reign all over the United States of America! But should this not be the case, my prayers are that the people will think for themselves, and act for their own interest, and all agree to vote for no Abolitionist, no advocate of settling disputes by compromises of Legislatures, in place of a court and jury, and they to be sworn to decide in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and vote for no one who advocates secession, no separate State Right sovereignty, for there is no sovereign in the United States, but the people and their Constitution, that being the supreme law, of the land, and the expressed will of the people.

But now, as I have shown, no one could be profited by



this destruction of life, liberty and property, but the lawyers; and also, that it has been by their counsel we have been misled, yet I feel it to be my duty to do them justice, as a part of our community. I believe that there are as many honest, upright, just, and as trustworthy men, according to their number, as any class of people in our country, and as useful members in society, and as much needed as any other member of our Union. Therefore, I do not wish to be understood to mean, by what I have written, not to elect lawyers, for I believe there are as many honest lawyers, according to their number, as any class of the people. But I wish to be understood to say, elect no one, lawyer or no lawyers, until they will agree to oppose those principles I have described. And in that way, you will get all those designers out of office, that are destroying the government of the people and transferring all power to the Legislatures, any King, Prince or Potentate ever possessed over the people, as I have shown, and elect such men as will do away with military armies, and send the soldiers home to their families and friends, where they ought to have been all this time.

Now, this is the government that Lincoln and his party have thrown away, and Jeff. Davis and his party have done the same, and both parties have adopted, in its stead, what they call, separate States Rights sovereignty. Davis and his party pretend to be resisting Abolitionism under States Rights sovereignty or secession, when every principle adopted by the (so-called) States Rights Conventions, establishes Abolition principles as strongly as language or words can express them. But as I have shown the true principles of the Constitution, and the object for which they were created, I will endeavor to show the true principles of separate States sovereignty, and the object for which they were created. I will not be governed by what I hear in speeches or newspapers, nor by words used by the framers of this States Rights party, but I go to the Conventions, where they laid down their platforms, and see what principles they have been attempting to carry out and establish over the people. In the first Convention, in 1832, and in the second, in Cincinnati, and in the third, in Charleston, all the said, or pretended Democrats, North and South, met; and, not coming

to a proper agreement, appointed another meeting elsewhere. But it matters not so much, *when* or *where* they met, as what they adopted, as the standard principles of their government as a States Rights secession government. I will call the attention of the people to acts passed in their Convention of 1832. Now, it is my object to show the people that *their* object in creating this State Rights secession principle was to destroy every right, and, if established, would destroy every right, liberty and privilege, guaranteed and secured to the people under the Constitution, (as I have shown,) and would establish power in the Legislature, not only to emancipate the African property, but life, liberty and all the property of the people. Instead of their being secure in their papers, persons, houses and effects as the Constitution provides, they would not be secure in anything. And, according to the provisions of those principles, created in, and by those Conventions, the Legislatures have the power secured to them, to take everything from the people, being under no obligation but their own will, and the people having no course but to obey. For, in these principles they have left no check on, or against, acts of legislation, or acts of majorities, as is provided in the Constitution of the United States. Their principles would destroy every right, liberty or privilege guaranteed to the people, and would transfer all the power to the Legislatures that ever any king, prince or potentate ever had on earth, not excepting the African chief, who kills whom he pleases, eats whom he pleases, takes from whom he pleases, and gives to whom he pleases. They explain the word *State* to mean the Legislature of the State. The addresses, accompanying the ordinance, provides that there is not now, nor ever has been, such a political body as the people of the United States. The extent of the power does not depend on the people, but upon the State Legislatures, and *they* are under no obligation, only their own will, just as any king, prince or potentate.

They have the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people—the clear right to declare the extent of their obligations, and, when once declared, the people have no course but to obey; and if they refuse obedience, the Legisla-

ture, in their high and sovereign capacity, will not fail to provide for her self-defence—the fault and folly will be their own. The self-defence, put up by all who claim the right of sovereignty over the people, as this States Rights secession has done, is, to make the penalty death, if you speak against, or resist the laws they established.

Now, under the States Rights sovereignty, they provide that the Legislature should have power, from time to time, to prescribe what oath of allegiance officers and citizens should take, and also define what should constitute treason against the State, and the penalty annexed to treason. They defined treason to be, speaking against any act passed by the Legislature, or resisting it in any way or manner whatever—the penalty should be death, without the benefit of the clergy, which means, without any chance to be reprieved.

They provided that, in no case wherein was called in question the authority of this ordinance, or any act of the Legislature, in pursuance of the same, should an appeal, or copy of an appeal, be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Any person attempting to take an appeal, or copy of an appeal, should be dealt with in the same manner as for contempt of court. This was done to secure to the Legislature the power over the lives, liberty and property of the people, under the pretence that their object was to protect the people against an oppressive tariff, and give to them free trade; and we are now beginning to see what kind of free trade they are giving us. The Constitution of the United States gave us as free trade as could be given by any government. It provides that no tax or duty shall be paid on any article exported from any State. They went further to secure the power to the Legislatures of the States over the people. They provided that, in no case in which was called in question the authority of the ordinance, or any act of the Legislatures of the States, should any judge or jury be permitted to sit on trial, unless they would first take an oath, well and truly to obey, execute and enforce the ordinance, and whatever act the Legislature should pass, to the full extent and meaning of the same. They provided that there should be no appeal from the decision of a court-martial. This would

place the military law above the civil law in time of peace—whereas, the Constitution of the United States provides that the military law shall be subordinate to the civil law. Now, since there is no appeal from the military court, this establishes the military law above the civil law, and the Legislatures being bound by no oath, and under no obligation but their own will, could pass any act they pleased, and the penalty to be inflicted on the military courts for disobedience, and enforce any law they pleased. They also provided that all persons holding offices of honor, profit or trust, civil or military, under this State—members of the Legislature excepted—shall, in such time, and in such manner as the Legislature shall prescribe, take an oath well and truly to obey, execute and enforce this ordinance, and such act, or acts of the Legislature as may be passed in pursuance thereof, according to the true intent and meaning of the same; and on the neglect or omission of any such person or persons so to do, his or their office, or offices, shall be forthwith vacated, and shall be filled up as if such person or persons were dead, or had resigned.

No person, hereafter elected to any office of profit or trust, civil or military—members of the Legislatures excepted—shall, until the Legislatures shall otherwise provide and direct, enter on the execution of his office, or be in any respect competent to discharge the duties thereof, until he shall, in like manner, have taken a similar oath. And no juror shall be impaneled in any of the courts of this State, in any cause, in which shall be called in question this ordinance, or any acts of the Legislature, passed in pursuance of the same, unless he shall first, in addition to the usual oath, have taken on oath that he will well and truly obey, execute and enforce such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed, to carry the same into operation and effect, according to the true intent and meaning thereof. Now, from the provisions of this ordinance, it will be seen that the whole object of the framers of this convention was to destroy all the power in the people, and place as much power in the Legislature as ever any King or Prince ever had. The ordinance further declares and ordains, that the allegiance of the citizens of this State is due to the State only, and those to whom they may think



proper to transfer their allegiance. And as they have defined the word *State* to mean the Legislature, and them to be the lawful sovereigns, and under no obligations, but their own will by oath, or otherwise, they have, at all times, represented the State as one party, and the people another and distinct party, in accordance with all the provisions of the ordinance, and so explained, by the addresses accompanying the ordinance. They have placed more power in the Legislature than exists in any King, Prince or Potentate in any civilized portion of the globe. The heathen African chief is the only one I know of, who possesses the powers fixed in the Legislatures, under secession and States Rights principles.

Now, Lincoln is acting with the Abolitionists, and carrying out the same principles, over the Northern people, as the Southern politicians are carrying out over the South. For it is under the States Rights doctrine that they assume to have the right, or rather the power, to rob the people of their African property. If the legislative bodies have a right, by acts of legislation, and acts of majorities, to take one part of the people's property, and they under no obligation but their own will, they can legislate the life, liberty, and all the property from the people of the North, just as the politicians have done at the South. And to show clearly that they were acting under the same principles, and perhaps in concert together, it will be recollected that the Convention of 1832 disputed every obligation they were under, to the constituted authorities of the United States, and made a demand on all the constituted authorities, and all the citizens of the State of South Carolina, to obey and give effect to their ordinance, and all acts of the Legislature, both what they had passed and what they might pass hereafter; and changed the oath of allegiance to support and defend the ordinance, and whatever laws they might pass, instead of the constituted authorities of the people. They declared that they would not permit the constituted authorities of the State, or of the United States, to prevent the enforcement of the ordinance—to shut up her ports and harrass her commerce; if they did, they were no longer a member of the Union, and would not submit to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Now,

this was assuming all powers over the constituted authorities of the United States, and creating a different one altogether, pretending that they were trying to preserve the Union, while every act they did was destroying the Constitution and creating one of the most tyrannical governments in the world. All this was done under the pretence of protecting us against an oppressive tariff, when we were acting under as free trade as any government could make.

These leading characters told the people of the South that they were paying all the tariff, and that they were paying forty dollars, out of every hundred dollars worth of cotton sold, into the pockets of Northern manufacturers. This was all false. We never paid one cent of duty on cotton, for the Constitution provided that no tax or duty should be laid on any article exported from any State, so that no tax or duty can be laid on any article exported from the United States. It also provides that no article shall enter free in one port and pay duty in another, but that the duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. Now, the cotton pays no tax nor duty, in the United States, nor in England, or anywhere else. Now, did not these men know that? They certainly did; but the common people did not, and believed it, because it came from such good authority. But to convince the people that they told them the truth, they brought up statistics of the Northern and Southern States. And as a sample of the statistics of 1860, I will explain, from what they made the assertion that the Southern States paid nearly all the tariff. The statement is that :

Northern States exported	-	-	-	-	97,346,979
Southern States exported	-	-	-	-	218,896,450

Upon this ground they asserted that the South paid to the amount of tariff they exported, and the North only paid tariff duties to the amount they exported, when there was not a cent of duty paid on what either exported; for, according to the provisions, all goes free, and cotton pays none in the United States, or anywhere else. This shows that the South is largely the one benefitted by the exports, for they export so much more than the North. Now, the reason cotton passes free of tariff duties in England, is because it answers as an article of ex-

change, in payment of debts—the same as gold and silver—in every country where it goes. All nations want it, as it answers for an article of exchange, and will pay debts, the same as gold and silver. It enhances the value of it in place of diminishing it—and in place of the tariff injuring it, it can't do the cotton harm. But let us see who *do pay* the tariff duties. In the first place, the North pays a great deal the most, because they buy the most of the goods. For the most goods are shipped to the Northern ports, where there is capital to buy them—good ports in which to land them, and also good ports for the vessels.

The goods are sold in whatever port they are landed, and the merchants buying them pay the tariff duties on them, and they have to sell them that much higher to their customers, so that the consumers really pay all the tariff at last, and nobody else. But this duty that is paid, goes into the public treasury, to pay the expenses of government, and is found to be the easiest way to raise money to defray the expenses of governments. The people of every government are better satisfied to raise it in that way than any other way ever adopted, and it is the way adopted by all governments.

From this, you will see, that the statement of our States Rights secessionists is all false, and not one word of it true. We were also told by these protectors, that the North had got rich off the South—that we were only united to them for their benefit, and our own loss and injury—that our own interests were antagonistic to theirs—that whatever benefitted them, injured us, and whatever benefitted us, injured them—that they had the majority, and if we remained with them, the interests of the South were ruined. They represented to the people that we had no remedy against them, but acts of majorities, and this power was lost, and we had no remedy but to secede. But I think I have shown that, the people under the Constitution, are not governed by acts of majorities, nor protected by them either, but by a written agreement, which is established, as the supreme law of the land.

The next thing to consider, that they have told us, is, that the North has gotten rich off of us, and if we separate from them, the riches they are getting from us, we will have for ourselves.

Now, this statement is false, also. It is the location of the country that makes those Northern cities rich, and gives them the advantage. There is a ridge of mountains running from the Potomac to the Valley of the Mississippi, which cut us off from any chance of furnishing commerce beyond them. So, if the merchants of Charleston were to buy ship loads of goods, they could only sell, to the wants of the people, up to the mountains, and, if they sold any more, they would have to ship them to the North, or New Orleans. But the North furnishes twenty millions of people with goods, beyond those mountains, besides furnishing us. So they can afford to buy ship loads of goods, because they have a market in which to sell them, which the South has not, and that is the reason they have gotten rich by commerce. New Orleans will also become a very wealthy city, when all those rich vallies become settled, along those large rivers flowing into the great Mississippi.

It is also said that the interests of the North and South are antagonistic. This, I will show, is another error, and this error is grounded on the authority of John C. Calhoun's philosophy of reasoning. According to his statement, every interest is antagonistic. The ground upon which he rests his argument is first based upon a proposition which he makes. Why did it become necessary that a government should exist? He argues that it is necessary, from the very principle God has implanted in the nature of man. Every man is created, having in him a greater regard for his own interest, than for that of another, and, on that account, every one wants to get all he can, and give to others as little as he can, and, on this ground, every separate interest becomes antagonistic. Even the tax payer and the tax receiver, offices and officers, and everything become antagonistic. This is the reason why, he says, we need a government in order that we can protect each interest against the antagonists of each other.

Mr. Calhoun undertakes to devise ways and means to protect each interest against the antagonists of each other. He tries the numerical majority, and finds it will not do of itself; he then tries the concurrent majority, and this comes nearest of any plan he can find. That is, the country shall be organized,



and every interest divided to itself; every interest elects its own candidate, and then they might consider their interests secure in their own representative; and, when they come to pass laws, have it so fixed that no law could be passed, unless all the different interests would give their consent to the law. But, in order to adopt a plan to force them to a compromise, when they refused to agree, and stop all action of government, which places us in anarchy, which would be the worst fix we could be in. And that would force all the different interests to a compromise. Every interest would compromise as much of his interest, to the benefit of the other's interests, and, in this way, get along wonderfully. Then, he goes on to compare the courts and juries as a model of this plan, under his concurrent plan of majorities. He says, when the jury hears the case argued, they then meet to decide on it. They may not all agree at first, but one after another gives way; but, for all that, no verdict can be legal without the consent of the whole. How seldom does it occur that a verdict is not obtained?

Now, let us examine this subject, and see if there is any truth or substance in this whole argument, except that God has created man with a greater regard for his own interest, than that of another. That is true. But, I deny that any of his other propositions are true. Let us examine for ourselves; let us see whether the court and jury will answer as a model to represent his concurrent consent of the representatives of all these different interests. Let us see if the two principles are not very different in character. In the first place, a juror is not allowed to sit on a trial where he has any interest in the case. If he has expressed an opinion before he heard the case tried, it deprives him of the right to sit on the jury. But how would it be with the representatives of these different interests? They would not be bound, nor have any regard for any other interest, except their own, and before they were elected, they would have to express their opinions, and be elected for the express purpose of sustaining those principles expressed. If they were elected for the very purpose of sustaining those principles, and should compromise away those principles, how would those representatives feel when they returned to their constituents?

Would they not rather wish, when the action of the government stopped, that it would stay stopped, rather than to go back to their constituents so disgraced? Would not such a government be the most unstable and insecure of all governments?

But, let us examine his position in regard to each different interest, and see if it is true that all interests conflict with each other, and whether the different interests need any law to protect them, other than God himself has created? For we are told that when God had finished creating, all things were very good. But, it appears from Mr. Calhoun's writings, that he has found that God was mistaken, and he (Mr. Calhoun) has set about to make things right by concurrent majorities, and fix every interest, so that they will protect each other against antagonists. Now, let us test the matter, and see whether there are antagonists in different interests. To prove the matter, let us throw away all the mechanics, and not allow them to live amongst us, if their interests are antagonistic to all the rest, and, so fully so, that we may test Mr. Calhoun's opinions. If it were not for the mechanic we could not have a knife and fork to eat with, a plate to eat from, a house to live in, a tool to fell the timber, a wagon, a carriage, a ship to sail in, a book to read in, or paper on which to write. Is not the whole world identified with the mechanic, and all portions and classes of the world, from the infant to the grave, benefitted by them? The people's interests are everywhere identified largely by the preaching of the Gospel, for if it were not for the preachers, the people would soon become heathens, and it takes them all they can do to keep them from getting to be heathens. The lawyers are very needful, and the people are benefitted by having them to aid and protect them against fraud, and placing the ignorant on an equality with the more wise and intelligent. For, if a man does not know how to proceed to protect himself in his rights, he can go to a lawyer and be protected with as much intellect as the country affords. The lawyer may be considered one of the equalizing powers to place all on an equality, so far as protecting their rights. It is to the interest of the lawyer to protect his client, because he pays him; he has to prepare himself to

understand how to protect his client; so, it is to the interest of the citizen to employ him, and the interest of the lawyer to protect his client, and increase his practice, so both interests are identified. Doctors prepare themselves to relieve pain, and restore speedy health to their patients.

The one who is sick wants the relief from the doctor; and he is desirous of giving every relief he can, to secure practice. Competition rules all the charges of the mechanics and doctors. It will be seen that every branch of business, from the constable to the President, from the magistrates to the judges, from the farmer to the sailor, from the merchant to the manufacturer, make their interests all identified with the welfare of the whole union of the world. Take any one of these from us, out of the world, and their loss would be felt by the whole community. And it is necessary to protect all and every one of these interests, and all that is necessary, is to make laws to protect each individual in their just rights against what is wrong; and when a government has done that, it is all that the government has any right or need to do. Competition in numbers engaged in each different business, will regulate the value of everything. And this is the law that God has fixed, in place of Calhoun's numerical and concurrent majorities. Competition in plenty or scarcity, of either labor or articles, will govern prices. This is the never erring law God has made, and no other law can stand in competition with it. So it will be seen that the antagonist that Mr. Calhoun has been fighting all this time, is nothing but wind, without foundation.

But let us examine into this principle, created in man, whether a regard for his own interests produces the principle of antagonism or not; and see if man will follow the law of God, if it is not the very principle that would prevent antagonisms. Now, I contend that there are but two antagonists in the world—one is right and the other is wrong. Right cannot be wrong, and wrong cannot be right. Is it right that a man have a greater regard for his own farm,

wife and family, than for another man's farm, wife and family, and would it not be more apt to prevent antagonisms than if it were otherwise? Is it not right that a woman should have a greater regard for her own husband than another woman's husband? Is it not right that a woman should have a greater regard for her own child, than for another woman's child? Was it ever otherwise known on earth? God has created this principle in man to be satisfied with whatever He saw fit to bestow on him. Is it not right for a cow to have a greater regard for her own calf than for another cow's calf? Is it not right for a mare to have a greater regard for her own colt, than for another mare's colt? Is it not right that a bird should have a greater regard for her own brood, than for the brood of another bird? Is it not right that the hawk, owl or eagle should have a greater regard for their own brood, than for the brood of any other birds? If it were not so, they would eat their own brood up, and their race would be lost. Lions, panthers, bears, and all animals and birds, have their principles fixed in them, and we see it is very good, and all God's creation satisfied with their own. Now, this principle being one of the greatest and best gifts to man, to constitute his happiness, Mr. Calhoun would make it one of the greatest curses to man, throwing away every thing antagonistic to each other. And this great antagonism, of which he spoke, one interest against another, is just the contrary way to what antagonism does exist. It always exists inside of its own interest.

By a great many persons engaging in the same business, they come into competition, one with another; and this is the means of reducing all things to their proper value. But it is said that our interests are antagonistic to the North; that what is to their interest is an injury to us, and whatever is to our interest injures them. I think this assertion is as equally erroneous as those others, and every word untrue. But if the Union were destroyed, it would place us



in pretty much the same fix as taking away all the mechanics from us. Now, let us see what assertions were made by our Southern politicians in 1832, to make the people dissatisfied with the Union we lived in, under the Constitution of the United States. They asserted that the cotton grower paid nearly all the tariff duties—at least forty dollars out of every hundred dollars worth of cotton sold—and that it went into the pockets of the North; and if we would withdraw from the North, we would have free trade, and no duties to pay, and we would get more for our cotton. So they brought up their figures to show how much more the people of the South paid of the tariff duties than the North. When I looked at their statistics I was utterly astonished. I always knew their statements were false, but I never imagined they were so utterly void of truth—the shadow of a foundation of truth. But as proof of what I say, I will produce their statistics, which they brought up to prove their statements. The exports of the Northern and Southern products stand thus:

Export of Northern products,	-	-	-	\$97,346,973
Export of Southern products,	-	-	-	218,895,450

Now, they asserted that as we exported so many millions, that we paid that much more tariff than the North. It will be seen that there was never one cent of tariff duties collected from any exportation either North or South—all passed out free of duty. For the Constitution provides that no tax or duty shall be laid on any article exported from any State. No article shall enter free in one port and pay duties in another, and that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. This shows clearly that no tariff was, or could be, collected on exportations, and, that all the North exported, went out free, and all the South exported, went out free; so that there was not one word of truth in their statement. The truth was, we exported two hundred and eighteen millions, while the North exported only ninety-seven millions; so the South had the

benefit of sending out that much more, free, than the North. The South, in place of being injured by the exportation, as they said, was largely benefitted, and they never paid one cent of duties on the cotton, for it passes free of duty in England, and (I think) in all other governments. And the reason why it goes free, is, because it answers as an article of exchange to pay debts, the same as gold and silver. Had we preferred, we could have sold our cotton to England for gold and silver. And why did we not? The reason is this—the North are large consumers. It was said that they were no benefit to us, and were getting rich off of us, without our receiving any benefit from them. Let us see if there is any truth in their statement. I will admit that the Northern cities are rich, but the question is, do they get all their riches from the South, or, is it the location of the country that makes the Northern cities rich? Let us see. In the first place, there is a ridge of mountains running from the Potomac to the Mississippi Valley, which prevents the transportation of goods across those mountains by the Southern cities. And the North, having lakes, canals and railroads, have access to all those Northern States. They furnish twenty-three millions of people with commerce, beside us. They can afford to buy a large quantity of goods, because they have a market in which to sell them. This is the reason why the Northern cities have gotten rich, and not merely the trade of the South. If Charleston were to buy a large quantity of goods, like the Northern cities, they could only sell, so far as the wants of the people demanded, up to the mountains; and, if they sold any more, they would have to ship them round to the North, or New Orleans, before they could sell them. So, it will be seen, it is the location of the country that gives them the advantage, and not merely the trade of the South, and that the statements they made in that respect were wrong. But, as the Southern politicians assert, is the North no benefit to the South, and their interests antagonistic to ours? Let us

see whether that be true or not. In the first place, the South is a producer of cotton, and the more consumers she has, the greater will be the value of cotton.

Now, the North is a great consumer, being twenty-three millions in number, and will consume a great deal of our cotton. They purchase the largest portion of the goods used, both in the North and South, and, consequently, have large payments to make whenever they buy the goods. It is easier to get cotton than gold and silver. They do not only buy cotton for their own consumption, but to pay for the goods which they buy in the foreign markets. And, in this way, they become large competitors with England and France, in keeping up the price of cotton. For nothing, in this world, rules the price of anything but competition. The number to sell and the number to buy, rules and regulates the value of all things. This is a principle that God, himself, has fixed, and no one can alter it. When any business is very profitable, a great many will engage in it until the competition amongst them will bring down the profits to their proper value.

Now, it will be seen, that the quantity of cotton consumed by the North, both for their own consumption, and to meet the payments for goods bought, makes them large competitors with England and France, and in place of being an injury are a great benefit to us in that way. If the South chooses to sell her cotton to England, she could get gold and silver for it, and shave it off to the North at a profit, to meet their payments in other countries. Many of the merchants, who trade with England, sell to the Northern merchants, and, if they do not give as much as the market of England justifies, we are not forced to sell to them; so that the South is completely independent in that respect. Now, it will be seen by those views, that instead of the North being an injury to us in this respect, we are largely benefitted by them, and that all these stories about their interests and ours being antagonistic, are untrue, and

without foundation. Let us look a little further, and see if the interests of the North and South are not so identified that they cannot be separated without great injury to both parties, one as much as the other. And see if the people of the North and South should not both at once withdraw themselves from this unnatural war, brought on by those politicians by their false and fraudulent statements. They now have the people under their military power, and are forcing them to kill, rob and destroy one another.

But we will proceed to show the great identity of our interest, as I first began to show the interest and benefit the South derives from a union with the North. I will continue to carry that out, and afterwards show the interest the North has in a Union with the South. We will say that one woman can, by making nothing else, make four bales of cotton, weighing each four hundred pounds, this at ten dollars per hundred would bring \$160, with \$160, we can buy sixteen hundred yards of osnaburghs from the manufacturers of the North, which amount would require ten hands to card and spin—this will save the labor of nine hands; they making cotton at \$160 each would give \$1,441 by having access to the manufactures of the North. But suppose we should buy the common shirting, we could buy thirty-two hundred yards for \$160, which would save the labor of nineteen hands, who, at \$160 per year, would make \$2,960. It might be said that we could get these advantages from the manufactories in England, but if we had to depend on England alone for those qualities of goods, they would be sure to sell them much higher. The great number of manufactories at the North has created a sufficient competition to cause them to sell as low as the price they give for cotton will justify. They prevent the foreign markets from extorting from us, and the foreign markets protect us from extortion by the home markets, and in this way we are benefitted in both ways. Again, the North can



make as much corn on one acre as we can make on four, so that they can raise four hogs with the same labor we can raise one, and can sell four times as cheap as we can afford to sell. Thus, by buying hogs from the North, we save the labor of four hands to raise cotton. They can raise four horses with the same labor that we can raise one, therefore we can buy from them four times as cheap as we can raise, and this gives us an extra amount of hands with which to raise cotton. They can raise four head of cattle with the same labor we can raise one; four times as much leather, and can afford to sell us shoes, ready-made, four times as cheap as we could make them at home. They can sell us bacon, lard, beef, flour, and every other article of eatables of every kind, four times as cheap as we can raise them. And when we buy, it saves that much labor that we can apply to raising cotton. Again, if a severe drought or some disaster were to take place in the South so that we were likely to be in great want for provisions—under the union we have a large territory of rich lands, producing so much provisions that we could get a supply of provisions at all times at a cheap rate without having to go over the seas for them, and if we did go, they would not have them to spare. These and many other benefits we derive from our interest with the North, so numerous that it is not necessary to mention them. And as the Constitution of the United States has provided that no tax or duty shall be laid on any article exported from any State, and that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State upon the property of the United States, nor the property of any particular State, it secures free trade to foreign markets, and also to each State in the Union.

Now why did our secessionists tell us that if we went out of the Union we would have free trade, when, under the Constitution, we had as free trade as could be created? Has one promise they made us been fulfilled? We have no trade at all. They said that we would get goods cheaper;

has that been true? They said we would have no war. When they called out volunteers they said it was to protect our homes and firesides. How long did they get to stay at their homes and firesides? I leave that for the people to decide for themselves.

But as I have shown what advantages the South gains by a union with the North, let us see what interests the North receives by a union with the South. In the first place she is largely benefitted by our cotton, both for her own clothing and for merchandize, and for profitable employment in manufactories. In the next place, all this surplus provision, cattle, horses, hogs, beef, lard, butter, shoes, saddles, and a thousand articles they do not need for themselves, would be lost to them if it were not for the trade with the South. In the first place, the South furnishes the cotton which keeps up the manufactories at the North, and employs a great many laborers and a great capital, and aids in keeping up merchandising. This builds up cities and towns, and those cities and towns with our cities and towns become great consumers, with the planters of the South, of horses, hogs and provisions of every kind. This furnishes a market for all they make over and above what they need. They buy also from the mechanic, shoes, saddles, bridles, carriages, harness, wagons, nails, iron, axes, hoes in immense quantities, for which they would have no use were it not for the market of the South. So that the interest of the North is as much dependent on the South as the South is on the North. I think it is not necessary to say any thing more on the subject.

This shows that the interests of each section is completely identified with the other, and not antagonistic, and that all those interests are different and at different places, yet they are all needed, and answer a proper purpose, and benefit all parties. Every interest is a benefit to the community, and needed, or they would not exist. It is the very need of them that brings them into existence; if they were not

made. So they all agreed that they would quit doing anything for the body. The legs agreed that they would not carry the body any longer; the arms would not work any longer to feed and clothe the body; the throat would not swallow any more for the body; But it was not long before the legs found out that they were not able to walk and carry the body; the arms were not able to work, and the throat found itself in a bad condition. So they all soon found out that it was through the strength and nourishment they received through the body, they were able to do what they did. So, I think, Mr. Calhoun's followers will soon find out that they are in the same situation as the legs, arms and mouth, so far as interests are concerned. Before the war, they said we needed nothing, but, since the war, we find that we need everything, but the war. But, from these remarks, I must not be understood to justify Lincoln and his Abolition party, or those secessionists; one is as much out of the Union as the other. Their principles are both the same. For the Lincoln party claims the right by acts of legislation and acts of majorities, to emancipate the African property. Now, if they have the right to emancipate one kind of property, they have the right to emancipate all—which is the very principle contended for by the secessionists, If that principle were established, the Constitution would not be worth the paper on which it is printed. Therefore, I think, that Lincoln's party and Davis' party are both in concert. If Lincoln should conquer, the people would be no nearer under the Constitution than if Davis' should conquer. All rights, liberties, privileges and property secured to the people would be taken from them.

From these views, it will appear that every interest that exists, does depend, more or less, on the aid and assistance of all the others, like the head, legs, arms, mouth and body throughout. Take away the legs, arms and head, and the body would be of very little use; and take the body and the head, the legs and arms would be of little use. Just so,

needed, they would not remain in existence, but would die of their own accord. Mr. Calhoun's philosophy, throughout, is like the fable of the head, legs, arms and mouth forming a conspiracy against the body. They asserted that the body did nothing, while the legs carried the body wherever it went; the arms worked to furnish food and clothing for the body; the mouth chewed and the throat swallowed the food for the body, while it consumed everything they without manufacturers and consumers, our surplus cotton, over and above what we need for our own use, would be of no use; without merchants, ships and sailors, we could not be put in possession of all the luxuries God has provided for the benefit of man. For God caused one portion of the world to produce one luxury, while he caused another part of the world to produce another luxury; so that it was necessary to have merchants, ships and sailors, so that we may be put in possession of all the different luxuries provided for man. Mr. Calhoun's philosophy is the most false philosophy I have ever seen put on paper. And, whenever his principles are attempted to be carried out, it produces destruction to life, liberty and property. Look at his policy in regard to the United States Bank, what destruction it brought on all classes, at home and abroad. And why such a policy should be adopted by men of intellect, is astonishing; and as so much injury was received by the commercial world, at home and abroad, and by all classes of the community. It will, perhaps, be proper to examine into the cause, why and how the injury was produced. In the first place; let us see what is the use of money? We do not eat it, neither do we wear it. Why, then, is so great a value placed on money? It is because it answers as a medium of exchange for anything we want to buy, and that is the only use we have for it. Now, the United States Bank furnished money that answered every purpose (for that use for which it would pass) all over the United States, and answered as an article of exchange for all the purposes that gold and



silver could do. It paid taxes, tariff duties for public lands, and would pass in England and in France. For it would buy cotton, or anything else they wished to buy in the United States. So it answered as an article of exchange for anything we wanted to buy, better than gold or silver, because the banks had so arranged that all the solvent banks could give checks on the Bank of the United States, and they could transfer those checks by letter, or travel with them himself, without any encumbrance of weight, or any danger of being robbed. And as these checks would answer as an article of exchange, with which to buy anything he wanted, or pay any debt, it answered a much better purpose than gold and silver. In addition to this, the people, under the government of the Constitution of the United States, being so secure in all their lives and liberty, they had increased in wealth and prosperity to such a degree, that there could not have been a sufficient quantity of gold and silver to answer the purpose as an article of exchange, for the transaction of their business. So that it really became necessary that some plan should be adopted, by which to supply this want. This bank answered every purpose that could be desired, by uniting with the other banks in giving and receiving checks; so that commerce was accommodated, and prosperity was increasing to an extent never before known.

This bank served another important purpose. It received all the public treasures free of charge, and also paid out all the claims against the United States free of charge, which saved a large amount of expense to the United States. In addition to this, the Bank of the United States was responsible if they squandered any of the funds, or undertook to defraud the United States, and could be made responsible for all moneys placed in their hands, for they were solvent. But what is the situation of the country under the Lincoln and Calhoun parties. Since that bank has been destroyed, how many irresponsible men have been placed in offices as collectors, paymasters and

receivers, at high wages, throwing a heavy expense on the Government, that did not exist under the United States banking arrangement. How much fraud is practiced, and how many have run off with thousands of the public money? This is all a loss, and has to be made up by taxing the people. Although the loss was heavy in all these things, yet it is not to be compared to the loss of the people in the destruction of their commerce with the world at the time the Bank of the United States was destroyed. The people were in as prosperous a condition as they ever had been, and doing well. The United States bank, with the aid and assistance of the other banks, could furnish money enough to carry on all the transactions of the people, and furnish an article of exchange for all their trading purposes; and it appeared that, owing to the increase of wealth, all the money of the United States and all the money of the different banks was needed to carry out the common transactions of their business. At the time that the United States Bank was destroyed, Mr. Calhoun and his party had a law passed that nothing but gold and silver should be taken in payment of public dues. Now, this not only deprived the people of the quantity of money in the Bank of the United States, but also placed the other banks in a position in which they could not furnish money to the people with which to carry on their business. It placed the banks in such a situation that they had to furnish all the gold and silver to pay the public dues. Mr. Calhoun and his party said that this law was passed to prevent the Government from bankruptcy. But what does Mr. Calhoun mean by the Government? He must mean the officers who received their pay in gold and silver; so he made two parties in his legislation—the people one party, the officers the other. He provided that the officers should be paid in gold and silver; but in what condition did he leave the people? They passed a law that all foreign importations should be allowed thirty days' credit, by giving bond and security for the payment of the tariff duties. This gave them a chance to sell their goods for bank bills, and all they had to do was to call on the banks for the gold and silver with which to pay the tariff duties. The banks had to furnish gold and silver to pay for all

the public lands, all the post office dues, and all kinds of public debts. And as their charters only allowed them to issue three paper dollars for one of gold they had at the time of the issue, and draws were continually making upon them, it was impossible for them to furnish the people money to carry on their transactions with each other. The cotton merchant could not get money to buy cotton; they failed to pay their merchants in this country—failed to pay each other; our merchants failed to pay the foreign merchants; confidence in the banks were lost, and the confidence of all classes was lost. All this was done by passing those laws.

Now, the doing away with the United States Bank removed a large amount of capital from the use of the people, that they needed, but it would not have done so much harm as it did, had it not been for the making of two parties in the payment of money. For he secured the officers in the payment of gold and silver, and, by that means, crippled the banks. If the government, or the officers of government, who passed those bad laws, had taken the notes of the specie-paying banks, the banks could still have furnished paper money for all purposes of trade, and the people might still have gotten along. But that law was completely making war on the people and the banks, and destroying the prosperity of both. Now, you see what great evil was brought on the people by making two parties. And it is doing the same thing now, by making the South one party and the North another. The Constitution of the United States makes no parties. Whatever right a citizen has at the South, the citizen of the North has the same permanently secured to him. But the whole theory of Mr. Calhoun's philosophy is to create parties, and array one party against another. According to his philosophy, he makes the United States Government one party and the State governments another party, each having a right to decide for itself as to the extent of its powers, and array these two parties as antagonists, one against another. He does not represent them one and the same thing—both created for the protection of the people in all their rights, liberties and privileges—the one to transact the national affairs, and regulate commercial affairs of the people, and the other to regu-

late domestic affairs, both those constitutions uniting together, for the same purpose. But he represents those two governments as two antagonists, each trying to usurp the most power and before he gets done explaining the conditions of those two antagonists, he gets them in perfect conflict. But what still seems strange, each one has the right to decide for themselves the extent of their power, having no lawful arbiter between them. He then undertakes to show how those disputes must be settled. One is, by forming an alliance with a certain combination of interests, the nearest assimilated together, to form parties for the protection of their interests against the antagonism of all other interests. For he concluded that all interests were antagonists against each other, which I have shown to be false. But he admits that some interests are more nearly identified than others, and with those two parties of interest he creates one party against another, and, in this way, each party strives to gain the majority, and, by that majority, protect themselves against the antagonists of the other interests.

Now, this is the manner in which the States have to resist the antagonists of the Constitution of the United States, but he calls it the General Government, or means, rather, the legislation of Congress, which has no power or authority outside the Constitution. But he represents that they have the right to decide for themselves as to the extent of their power, and the only way we had to protect ourselves was to collect parties, and resist them by acts of majorities.

Thus, by creating parties by a combination of interests nearest identified with each other, we might protect ourselves against the antagonists of the opposite interests. Now this would be protecting ourselves against something that never did exist, for there is no antagonism in indifferent interest. All interests are needed to aid and assist each other, and there is no antagonism of interests except what originated in the mind of Mr. Calhoun, and this is the manner of his whole philosophy. This is one of the remedies he proposes, by which the State governments may protect themselves against the encroachments of the General Government. But he admits that this of itself would not do. He would organize all the interests to better



aid the carrying out this wonderful scheme, and he would fix a concurrent majority of interests and have it so fixed that, before any law could be passed, all the interests would have to give their consent. But if no consent could be gotten from all, he would stop the action of government altogether, and this would force them all to a compromise. Every one would give up some of his interests rather than have no government. He also brings in the courts and juries to represent his plan, or as a model of his plan of government. He says that, although the twelve jurymen must all agree before a verdict can be brought in, they may all agree at first, but after reasoning together, one will give up part of his opinion, and then another, until they all come to a compromise and all agree. He says this plan of settling disputes had given better satisfaction than any other that has ever been adopted. But let us see if this model of government will represent his. In the first place, no one is allowed to sit as a jurymen if he has any interest in the case, or has expressed his opinion before he hears the case tried. Now, in the case of Mr. Calhoun's figure, none of the party has been elected to take care of any other interest than his own, and before he was elected he would have to express his opinion and be elected on that express opinion. But if that candidate should compromise those interests he was elected to protect, how could he meet his constituents? Would he not rather see the government destroyed? Now, could any man have a regard for the welfare of his country who would try to adopt such principles as these for the standard of his government? It will be seen that his philosophy is built and founded on antagonism. He makes the State governments and the United States Government antagonists, when the principles of each are the same. The Constitutions of each State ought precisely to agree, because the officers in each State are bound by oath, or affirmation, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, every officer in every State has to swear to support and defend the Constitution of his own State as well as the Constitution of the United States—they surely ought to agree and not be antagonistic. It seems to me that

the opinion advanced is the most unreasonable and the furthest from right of any principles I ever saw put on paper. The other principles he has set forth as protectors of right against wrong are equally erroneous, if not more so. One of his remedies was separate State action—every State to decide for itself—choose its own mode and manner of redress—and counter-legislation. This would be a State carrying itself as a party against all the States, and at the same time pretending to be a member of the Union. Now, the word *union* means one, it does not mean *two* or *parties*—it means one united agreement to give equal rights to all the members, and the written agreement shows what these rights are. But Mr. Calhoun's philosophy has no union at all, makes nothing but parties, and the interest of each party to oppose the others. Now if we had no better security for our rights than one party against another party, we would have no security at all, because one party might gain the ascendancy to-day, and put you in possession of your rights, and the other party gain the ascendancy to-morrow and take your rights from you. It would be like throwing a cork upon the sea—it might be here to-day, but there would be no certainty where it would be to-morrow, or whether you would ever see it again. For, according to his philosophy, there was no lawful arbiter, to protect your rights, appointed. If you had not a party strong enough you had no protection—and this party, formed out of a combination of interests, is antagonistic to every other. His whole platform was to create parties.

Out of the words Federal and National, he made two parties, when they meant the same thing. The words Federal, National and Union, mean the same thing, so do the words united, consolidated and cemented. He made parties of all these words, as though they all meant different things, while they are the same in substance. The word *State* means the territory or boundary separating the one from the other. It will apply to the people, acting under their constitutional authority, by law, to the extent and boundary of the territory, which unitedly means the same. The words *consolidated* and *united* mean the same, for the word united means the agreement, by

which all the members united together agreed to be governed themselves, and all others. This was consolidating the agreement into one joint agreement, and this made a confederated government, and means, that the signers to this agreement represent our National government. But Mr. Calhoun makes those words all great antagonists to each other. His principles array the whole human family as antagonists, from the cradle to the grave, while I have shown that God has arranged everything in harmony and unity; and has created everything to act in concert, for the benefit of man. All that is necessary, as far as government matters are concerned, is to make laws to protect every man in his just rights against wrong. This can only be done by creating laws, courts and juries to decide between the disputing parties, as we have done under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Calhoun's remedy is entirely opposed to the Constitution of the States or the United States. He is for every State to be separate from every other State—the Legislature to have complete and absolute control over the lives, liberties and property of the people—the people to have no course but to obey, and the Legislature under no obligation but their own will, and will admit of no allegiance to any other authority than their own, or those to whom they transfer their allegiance. Now, the only remedy provided against unjust legislation by Mr. Calhoun's works, is the elective franchise. This elective franchise has to be obtained out of different combinations of interests, all antagonists, but the nearest identified, before you can get your party strong enough, to counterlegislate for you. All this time you must submit to this unjust legislation, and have no course but to obey. But, should you fail to get your party strong enough, to counterlegislate for you, then place yourself in some attitude to get a compromise. Now, compromisers have to take whatever they can get, not what they ought to get, and being in the minority, and having no other way in which to be protected, he would accept whatever they thought proper to give him, if that was nothing.

But Mr. Calhoun brings in another remedy—that is, secession. But suppose the Legislature would pass a law that you should not *secede*, you have no course left but to obey. And if you

speak against any act they pass, or resist, in any manner whatever, the penalty is death. What could be gained by secession? We have an example before us. We were promised free trade, but we have no trade, not even with the adjoining States, unless the Legislature of each State permits us. We were promised that we would get goods very cheap; we cannot get any goods unless we pay for them from ten to one hundred times as much as we paid before this great remedy, secession, was introduced. We were told that everything we needed would be furnished for much less than we were getting them, but that we needed nothing from others, and everybody was dependent on us for our cotton. But, it seems that we need a great deal from others, and that, although we have the cotton, we have not the manufactories to furnish a supply, and the people cannot get a supply of cards to make the cloth at home.

We were told that there would be no war—that has proved to be untrue. We were told that there would be no taxes to pay—which has proved to be untrue. All those calamities have befallen us, since this remedy, secession, has taken place. And a debt created over our heads, which, it will take everything we have to pay, if it ever is paid. Now, this is the true situation brought on the people by adopting those principles, and resorting to those remedies adopted by Mr. Calhoun and his followers. It was impossible that any one, or all those principles, could have given protection against any of those evils, of which he complained. It involved us in war, and we were largely in the minority. According to the law of nations, when we seceded, it deprived us of any right to any of the public property; so we left the North in undisputed possession of all the shipping, navy, arms, ammunition and fortifications, except those that we took from them by force, (and they were very few,) and all the public property of every description, leaving us nothing to fight with, and little to fight for, but separate States Rights and the right of secession, which has brought all this distress and destruction upon us, without even the show or appearance of benefit; but, on the contrary, every appearance of total destruction.

Now, I think it is time we should change our position, and



not follow those leaders any longer. Now, the Lincoln Abolitionist party are acting on the same principles as the States Rights party, and they are out of the Union as much as Davis and his secession party. To show that they both agree precisely in principle, without the shadow of difference, we see, that in the Convention of 1832, the South Carolina Convention declared that every State had a right to make any law it pleased—a right to decide for themselves as to the extent of their obligations—and that, after once declared, the citizen had no right but to obey. The Convention in Cincinnati declared that it should not be denied that a State had the right to emancipate. The third Convention, called before the election of Lincoln, Southern and Northern Democrats, as they called themselves, (but had not a particle of Democracy about them,) declared that a State had a right to take everything from the people. Now, these are the principles contended for by the States Rights followers of Mr. Calhoun.

Now, let us see the principles adopted by the Abolitionists. They have not held conventions, nor made public declarations. This is the reason why I have confined myself so much to the declarations of the Southern politician's State Right principles, for they have put on paper their principles, held in convention, and they cannot dodge out of them. But I will now show by the acts of the Abolitionists that they both act on the same principles of State Right sovereignty, and also show that they went out of the Union. For they did not go out by secession, but by acts of treason, in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution. And those acts corresponded with the declarations of the Convention of South Carolina, in 1832, which gave a State the right to make any law they pleased, and be under no obligation but their own will—choose their own mode and manner of redress. Now, the Abolitionists of ten States passed a law, that if a servant, or person bound to service, in another State, escaped to their State, they should be free. And if any person attempted to secure such servant, or person bound to service, or any one aided or assisted in recovering such servant, or person bound to service, the person attempting to recover, or aiding and assisting to recover, shall be fined to a large extent, and imprisoned.

Now, this was assuming power on the part of the State, to make any law they pleased, and this was choosing their own mode and measure of redress, exactly in accordance with the acts of the Convention of South Carolina, in 1832. The Convention at Cincinnati declared that it should not be denied that they had a right to emancipate. Now, this Cincinnati Convention provided for the support of the Abolitionists as strong as language could express—professing, at the same time, that they were opposing it. The last Convention, before the election of Lincoln, for fear they had not made abolition strong enough, declared that the State had the right to take everything from the people, which the secession Abolitionists and the Lincoln Abolitionists are doing, by robbing and killing the people, and dragging them out, and forcing them to fight one another. And all this to carry out the Abolition principles over the people; and taxing them until they will take everything from them, as well as declare they have a right so to do. This is the deplorable condition in which the people are placed by those two political leaders. Now, both these political leaders pretended they were acting under, or in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. But let us see if there is one word of truth in any of their declarations.

Did the State have a right, under the Constitution, to make any law they pleased? Or had the State a right to emancipate or take everything from the people? The Constitution provides that citizens be secure in their person, papers, houses and effects—they shall be preserved inviolable. It also provides that no law or regulation shall be made, by any State, to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of any other State. But if a servant, or person bound to service, escape to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant or person bound to service. Now, this was the contract, existing one with the other, all over the United States. And the Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall have power to impair the obligation of contracts. This shows clearly that a State has not the power to pass any law they think proper, nor have they the right to emancipate, or take anything from the people without full compensation.

For the Constitution provides that no private property shall be taken for public use without full compensation to the owner; so it seems that they neither have a right to emancipate, nor a right to make any law they please, nor a right to take anything from the people. But, under the Lincoln administration, and under the Davis administration, they are using all this power.

Now, it will be seen, that the acts of those ten States—that aided and assisted in electing Lincoln—were guilty of actual treason. For, whenever any political party form themselves into a combination, and create laws in opposition to the laws of the government, under which they live, and the courts decide that such laws are illegal, unconstitutional, null and void—and, after the decision of those courts, if they attempt to enforce these laws they have created, it constitutes treason. Now, the Court of the United States is set apart as the lawful arbiter, and had decided that African property was property, and that that kind of property had the same right, under the Constitution, in every State, to be protected the same as any other property.

This decision was given in the Dred Scott case. Now, the States, passing those acts after the decision of the Supreme Court, were guilty of treason, and were not entitled to any vote in the Union. This is what brings in Lincoln as guilty of treason. He has associated himself with those treasonable Abolitionists, and is attempting to force the people of the South, under those treasonable Abolitionists, who profess that it is their intention to take from the South their African property. And, in place of proceeding against these men by a legal process, to show, by law, that those men, who had assumed that they had the power to secede, and summoned them to appear before the Court of the United States, to test whether they had the right to secede, (for they claimed that they had the constitutional right,) and, if they did not appear, the case would have gone against them by default. But, if they had appeared, they had a right to show cause, and a right to complain to the courts against the proceedings of the Abolition party, and they had the same right to redress wrongs.

But if any of the States, North or South, had committed

treason, the courts had a right to decide. There can be no doubt but that the Northern States committed treason when they passed the fugitive slave law, for the courts had already decided that question. But the secession question had not been decided, so that Lincoln had no right to declare war, neither would have Congress had the right, unless the judges had first decided that the Southern States had no right to secede. If the courts had decided that the Southern States had not the right to secede, and they still persisted in secession after the decision of the court, then it would have been legal for Congress to have declared war against the State of South Carolina. But Lincoln took the responsibility on himself, as if he were the government, and, together with his abolition *treasoners*, declared war against the State of South Carolina. The other Southern States, seeing those treasonable attempts, by force of arms, in place of using the law as they ought to have done, roused the feelings of all the other States, knowing that if South Carolina was conquered by those Abolitionists, who were out of the Union, it would be their time next. They were compelled to come to the aid and assistance of South Carolina, according to the agreement existing under the Constitution, that we shall support and defend each other on any account whatever—so all the States that assisted South Carolina cannot be guilty of treason.

Now the foolish and treasonable act of South Carolina, following up the treasonable philosophy of John C. Calhoun, and the treasonable acts of Lincoln and his Abolitionists, have brought on all this destruction of life, liberty and property in America. The philosophy of both is false, and they have no foundation in the Constitution for either of their principles. Now the proper course for South Carolina to have pursued was to have protested the election of Lincoln, and denied the right of vote to those ten States, that by their acts committed treason, and to have brought the case in court to show and prove that they had committed treason, and that they were not entitled to any of the privileges or protection of the government, which the judges would have been compelled to have decided in our favor, if we had remained in the Union. It



would have also left in our possession all the shipping, navy, arms, ammunition, territories, and all the public property of every kind.

But to follow out Calhoun's philosophy, they must say nothing about the North being out of the Union; but South Carolina must go out and leave those treasonable Abolitionists in the undisputed possession of all the treasure, shipping, navy, arms and ammunition, leaving themselves without anything to fight for or anything to fight with. All this was done to get out of the Union as well as the Abolitionists. They then called on the people to protect themselves against the hordes of Abolitionists without one dollar to equip them, except what they begged or borrowed. And now they are about to take every thing from the people, in taxes, to pay those enormous debts and expenses that have been contracted. But this is nothing to be compared with the hardships suffered by our true-hearted, devoted and deluded soldiers, who have been dragged from their homes—some sons from their parents, husbands from their wives and little children, leaving them without any protection, only their mother, to shift the best they can. A vast number of fathers have lost their beloved sons, and a great many wives have lost their husbands, and children left fatherless. Many have been dragged into sickly swamps and all kinds of exposure, besides being compelled to meet those, as enemies, who, by proper management, might have been friends, to shoot and kill each other—and for what? all to establish one of the grandest military monarchical governments the world can produce, under the name of liberty, under the pretence that their object was to adopt a plan to protect the people against antagonists of interests and evils that never did exist. But might we not have good reason to suspect those two political bodies of having some other object in view than they professed, and especially when all those leaders were lawyers, and should have been well acquainted with all the legal remedies existing under the laws of the Constitution of the United States, for it is the law created in the Constitution of the United States for prohibiting and restricting all acts of legislation, both of the States and the United States, from having any power to pass

acts to take even the value of a pin from the people, because those are the supreme laws, created by the true sovereigns, the people themselves. And now; perhaps, I had better show the course those pretended friends should and ought to have pursued, if it had been their intention to do what they professed—to protect us against the power claimed by the Abolitionists, both as it respects their refusing to give up our African property, and their refusing to allow those who owned that kind of property to move into their States or any of their territories. These were three of the complaints laid against the Abolitionists of the North. Now these charges seem to be justly founded, and are a strict violation of the law. When a law or laws are violated, what is the custom of all civilized nations but to apply to the law for protection. For what purpose are laws made if they are not made to protect right against wrong. Now it appears that the laws of the Constitution of the United States are so clear on all these cases that no misconstruction could be placed on the meaning of them, for the Constitution of the United States has made no distinction, as far as rights are concerned, between any members of this Union, and has made ample provision for the protection of each and every citizen, as far as the Union does or may extend; for the Constitution provides that the citizens of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and a right to take his property with him, and that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by one State on the property of the United States, or either of them, and that no State should have power to impair the obligation of contracts. Now all those obligations could not be impaired by a State, so this law had already been provided, for the protection of every citizen of the United States, and there was no need for a convention to make any other arrangement. And if there had been any State having no power to make a law outside of the State, and could not have made any law to act outside of her own State, nor laws impairing the obligation of contracts, what hindered our Southern lawyers from knowing it? This seemed as if their object was to make the people dissatisfied with their government, and that no provision had been made for their protection

under the Constitution against the evils of which they complained. For they said you could not get a State in a court, and that they had a right to make any law they pleased, and the people had no course but to obey.

Now let us see if any of those assertions are true—they are like all their other assertions, false. In the first place, the United States' Court is created the lawful arbiter of all cases arising under the Constitution, and in all cases where a State shall be a party that court shall have the original jurisdiction. It is said you cannot sue the State. Suppose that I should take my servant into one of those States, and some officer seizes my servant, or any other person acting under the law of the State, I would sue the individual, who took my property from me forcibly, in the Court of the United States, for all the trespasses and damages necessary for such an offence. He would be compelled to come forward and show cause why he has taken my property from me, or the case will go against him by default. But we will suppose that he attends and produces his authority, under the law of his State, I will show by the Constitution of the United States that I have a right secured to me, to move into any other State and take my property with me, and that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them—and that was the contract agreed to by all the members of the Union; and, also, no State was to have the power to impair the obligation or contracts.

Now, there cannot be any set of judges or juries found in the United States, unless they wilfully and knowingly perjure themselves, but would decide that a State had no power to pass such a law, and that all such acts were null, void and no law. Then down would all the laws go, created by the Abolitionists.

Now, why did our Southern politicians say that a State had a right to emancipate, a right to make any law they pleased, and a right to take everything from the people? and why did they bring up a bill proposing, as a compromise, that every State should have the right to come into the Union with or without the privilege of restricting the owners of slave property by acts of their majority. No, the Constitution gives no such

right, for every State has to come into the Union under the same agreement as the first. All officers have to take the same oath—come under the same agreement with the citizens of each State. They shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States.

Now, why did our Southern protectors, being lawyers, make those assertions entirely in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and every one of them in support of abolitionism, using words as strong as can be expressed in support of every principle contended for by the abolitionists. And, indeed, the very laws these Southern politicians created in their conventions, and also assisted in creating in Congress, are the very same laws adopted by the abolitionists, and upon which they have been acting all the time. This proves that they are acting in concert together, both acting, contrary to the principles of the government of the people created for their peace and happiness. And if their principles, which support abolitionism, were established, they would destroy every right, liberty and privilege secured to the people under the Constitution, as well to the North as to the South, for they would be brought under the same despotism. Now we see that there is a plain and easy way at law to protect us and establish our rights to go into any State or territory, and that no law nor regulation should be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to services, due to a citizen of another State. But when they were told of a lawful remedy, their answer was that they (the Abolitionists) paid no attention to law, and how could you enforce a law against such a large majority? But you must not forget that the Abolitionists paid very good attention to the laws created by the Southern conventions, and adopted them throughout, and our conventions declared that they had the right to do so. But now I think I can show that the plan of government under the Union is almost the best arranged to protect against such majorities as they speak of, that can be fixed by any government. Of course I claim the decision of the court in the above cases.

We will suppose that the State, which passed these laws, would not submit to the decisions of the court. The Presi-



dent is sworn to see the laws of the Union faithfully executed, and the Judges are to require the President to execute the laws in favor of the citizen, and put him in possession of his property, with full damages. If the President refused to do so, he could be deprived of his commission; but if he aided or assisted the State, in resisting the officer sent to execute the law, he would be guilty of treason, and would be liable to be tried and punished for treason, as well as turned out of office.

Now, there being but one State to contend with, the officers of that State, who offered resistance, would perjure themselves, and be guilty of treason; and if any other State should aid or assist, they would be guilty of treason. So that, if South Carolina had first claimed the rights that were secured to each citizen of the United States, and had those rights acknowledged by the Supreme Court, we would have been justifiable in going into war, if need had required it. And, if they had done so, I have no doubt but that the people would have unanimously, North and South, sustained the decision of the Court. For the people would have known what rights they were entitled to, and see at once, that the Abolitionists had no right to take away their African property, nor any other property, by acts of majorities—nor prevent them from buying any property they should choose, and moving that property where they pleased.

Every citizen has the right to decide for himself what kind of property he shall own, and no party rights about it—all to be governed by the principle of right; all agreeing to protect each other in their rights, contained in the Constitution, which, I hope, they still will do, when we get the right men in office, who will make their rights known to them, which has not been done lately.

Now, as I have shown, in order to establish what the rights of a citizen were, it was not necessary to have any majorities in the case, as a case in court in one State would establish the right of citizens in every State. And this is

the way all cases of disputes are settled, in all governments; and the only way in which peace and harmony can be preserved by all classes of the community. But how different a way does Mr. Calhoun's philosophy point out. Can any good happen under his plans, or any remedy ever be obtained against any evil? If it could, it never has. Nothing but destruction to life, liberty and property can, or will, follow. But, suppose the object of these two parties is something else than they have professed, and that they have some object that they have entirely concealed from all the honest portion of the people, both officers and privates. If so, let us guess, or let us examine, and see what effect those principles, introduced by those Southern Conventions, and adopted by the Lincoln Abolitionists, would have upon the rights of the people, and what effect it would have on the government, and what benefits might be, at the end, conferred on those head leaders.

In the first place, this Union, which is the government of the people, can never be destroyed, unless you create parties—and the liberties of the people cannot be taken away unless you get them under military power. You must create parties and array them against each other, and make them enemies, or believe them enemies, before you can get the people to consent to come under military power. Now, all this has been done by the philosophy of Mr. Calhoun. He makes the State one party, and the people another party. He makes the United States government one party and the State another party. All these parties he arrays, one against another—first, on the plea of a very oppressive tariff; the next, the slave question, and the dispute about settling territory; and next, he places the United States Government and the State government in a great struggle, and as antagonists against each other. The United States Government was trying to absorb all the reserved rights of the States. Mr. Calhoun sets himself as the great champion, together with his party, to defend and protect the States in

reserved rights, and declared that each State was a separate, sovereign and independent government, and had a right to decide for herself, choose her own mode and measure of redress, and that no lawful arbiter could be found sufficiently impartial to decide against the State, therefore, it was unprovided for.

Now, these principles have been arrayed, brought up and argued before the people by those State protectors. The first position they occupied was, to get the people to let them call a convention to decide against the oppressive tariff, where the South payed forty dollars out of every hundred dollars worth of cotton sold, and that it went into the pockets of the North, without us receiving any benefit from the North. Now, it was principally lawyers, governors and members of Congress who spoke to the people, in the most exciting manner, all asserting those things to be true, and that it was necessary to call a convention and decide on the constitutionality of the case. That it was not their intention to destroy the Constitution of the United States, but to preserve it; that the course they were going to pursue was a peaceable one—it would be settled by law.

No one would be asked to fight for the remedy—Mr. McDuffie would do all the fighting himself. But, as soon as they got the consent of the people to call a convention, they called for twenty thousand volunteers. They passed an act that no duties should be paid in the port of Charleston—not one cent for tribute, but millions for defence. Now, all those assertions about the people paying forty dollars on the hundred dollars worth of cotton sold, were all false, and without the shadow of foundation, as I have shown. For the Constitution of the United States had provided that no tax or duty should be laid on any article exported from any State, and that no imposition, duties or restrictions should be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

Now, it does seem to me, that those men had some other

motives in view than to protect the people, or preserve the Union, as I will endeavor to show. They also declared that if Congress attempted to collect the duties in the port of Charleston, they were no longer a member of the Union. When, at the same time, the Constitution of the United States provided that Congress should have power to lay on duties and taxes on imports sufficient to defray the expenses of government. Now, if there had been any wrong in the acts of Congress, the United States Courts would have been the legal place to go for protection; and, these men, being lawyers and members of Congress, could not be ignorant of it. All proves, satisfactorily to my mind, that they had some other object in view, than to protect the people. For the Constitution provides that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases of law and equity, arising out of the Constitution—to all cases where the United States should be a party—two or more States another; in all cases in which a State shall be a party, they shall have the original jurisdiction.

Now, see what a false statement they made, when they asserted that there could be no court found sufficiently impartial to decide against a State, and that no court had been appointed. Those who asserted those things, being all lawyers and members of Congress, could it have been possible, that they did not know that there was such a court appointed, and that court was appointed expressly to protect the people against unconstitutional legislation, either by the States, or the United States, as their lawful arbiter? This proves very satisfactorily to me, that they had some other object in view, than to protect the people; for they knew that a State had not the physical power to enforce her law, in opposition to the laws of the Constitution, which one they had made was, that no article should enter free in one port and pay duty in another; so that neither Congress nor a State had the right to make a law to enter any goods free of duty in one port, and collect duties in another.



Although they professed that their object was to preserve the Union, every act they passed in their convention was in direct violation of the Constitution; and, if adopted, in place of preserving the people's government, would utterly destroy it, and place the people under the most despotic government on earth, as I will, in future, show. Now, these politicians, when they were asked, how they would enforce their decision if the United States refused to submit to the decision of the convention, which it was very reasonable they would do, as they had tried the case by themselves, and for themselves, the opposite party having no chance to put up any defence, or have any hearing in the case, and as it would be reasonable to suppose, they would be dissatisfied with the decision—said that England would help them. This language would argue very strongly that, they and England had some understanding in the matter.

Now, all these acts were passed under the pretence of tariff oppression on cotton, when we never paid one cent of tariff duties; for, as it answers as an article of exchange, with which to pay debts, the same as gold and silver, it goes free everywhere. But let us see what more they did in the Convention of 1832, under the pretence or complaint of high duties. They created a different government for the State of South Carolina from the one they lived in, under the Constitution of the United States, changed the oath of allegiance, and attempted to turn out of office every one who had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. And, provided that, no one hereafter should hold any office of profit or trust, civil or military, (members of Legislatures excepted,) unless they would take an oath to support and defend the ordinance, and whatever act or acts the Legislatures should pass in pursuance of the same.

Now, it will be seen, that the Legislatures were not to be bound by any oath, but all officers were bound to support and defend any act they passed, in pursuance of the same, to the full extent and true meaning thereof.

We will now endeavour to see what are the true and most important parts of that ordinance, at least the most important principles adopted and explained in the ordinance and accompanying addresses, to the State of South Carolina; also, the same principles advocated by John C. Calhoun, in his disquisitions on governments. They all amount to the same thing, so far as principles are concerned. The first principle set forth in the addresses accompanying the ordinance is, that in all cases of a palpable and dangerous infraction of the Federal compact, each State has the right to annul and render inoperative, within its limits, all such unauthorized acts. Now, it will be recollected, that the judicial power was to extend and decide all such cases, and that there is no such power belonging to a State. The addresses provide a difference in the opinions of those of our fellow citizens who have hitherto dissented from us, and demands from us that we should briefly state the principal grounds upon which we place the right and expediency of nullification. The address provides that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign States—the powers of which government were to operate to a certain extent upon the people of those sovereign States aggregately, and not upon the State authorities.

First, it is a Confederacy, because in its foundations it possesses not one single feature of nationality. The people of the separate States as distinct, political communities, ratified the Constitution—each State acting for itself, and binding its own citizens. The act of ratification declares it to bind on the States so ratifying. The States are its authors, their power created it—their voice clothed the government it formed—it is, in reality, their government; and the Union, of which it is a bond, is a Union of States, and not of individuals. Secondly, it is a Confederacy, because the extent of the powers of the government depends not upon the people of the United States, collectively, but upon the State Legislatures. The address further provides that it

must never be forgotten that it is to the creating, and not to the controlling power, that we are to look for the true character of the Federal Government. The true question is, who are the parties to the compact? Who created, and who can alter and destroy it? Is it the States or the people? The address asserts that the question has been answered. The States, as States, ratified the compact. The people of the United States, collectively, had no agency in its formation. It further asserts that there did not exist then, nor has there existed at any time since, such a political body as the people of the United States. It asserts that there is not now, nor has there ever been, such a relation existing as that of a citizen of New Hampshire and a citizen of South Carolina, bound together in the same social compact.

The address also asserts that the government of the United States is strictly a league between several sovereigns. Now, Mr. Calhoun's whole arguments, in his disquisitions on governments, are entirely to fix and establish the sovereign power in the States, and make the States, or the Legislatures of the States, the sovereigns over the people.

For, if the people are not a political body, and had no agency in forming the government, they cannot claim any protection under it, but must apply to, and depend on the Legislatures for whatever they may think proper to let them have, as I will further show, in the examination of this address. For the convenient, joint exercise of the sovereignty of the States, there must, of necessity, be some common agency or functionary. This agency is the Federal Government. The address asserts that the power of the Federal Government is wholly derivative—that it possesses no inherent sovereignty—that it looks for its power to an exterior source, and that source is the States; that, as the States conferred, so the States can take away its powers. All inherent sovereignty is, therefore, in the States. It is the moral obligation, alone, which each State has chosen to im-

pose on herself, and not the want of sovereignty, which restrains her from exercising all those powers.

We have said thus much on the subject of sovereignty, because the only foundation upon which we can erect the right of a State to protect its citizens is, that South Carolina, by the Declaration of Independence, became, and has since continued, a free, sovereign and independent State. That, as a sovereign State, she has the inherent power to do all those acts, which, by the law of nations, any prince or potentate may, of right, do; that, like all other independent States, she neither has, nor ought she to suffer, any other restraint on her sovereign will or pleasure, than those high moral obligations, under which all princes and States are bound, before God and man, to perform—their solemn pledges.

The inevitable conclusion from what has been said therefore, is, that all cases of compact between sovereigns, who are independent, where, from the very nature of things, there can be no common judge or umpire, each sovereign has a right to judge, as well of the infractions as of the mode and measure of redress. So, in the present controversy between South Carolina and the Federal Government, the right belongs solely to her, by her delegates in solemn convention assembled, to decide, whether it be violated, and what remedy the State should adopt. South Carolina, therefore, cannot, and will not yield to any department of the Federal Government, and still less to the Supreme Court of the United States. This provision, under the pretence of protecting the people against an oppressive tariff, which I have shown never did exist, and was all false, claims all sovereign power to be fixed in the State Legislatures of each State, that ever belonged to any king, prince or potentate. This, they pretended to do, from the Constitution, yet they acknowledge they do not get the power from the Constitution, which is the only truth set forth in their whole statements. Each sovereign has the right to judge for himself,



whether any compact has been broken or violated between himself and others.

Now, the courts of the United States are set apart as the lawful arbiter to decide on all cases of law and equity, arising under the Constitution. But they assert they will not submit to the General Government, which is the Constitution of the United States, much less to the Supreme Court of the United States. For it would enter into the essence of their sovereignty.

But, let us see, if there is any authority for all this sovereignty, and see if it is not sovereignty created and claimed without the shadow of truth or authority. The address, in speaking of the division of the powers of the General Government, says, its authors could never have contemplated that the Federal head should regulate the domestic industry of a wide and extended country, distinguished above all others for the diversity of its interests, pursuits and resources, in its various sections. It was this acknowledged diversity that caused the arrangement of the conjoint and separate exercise of sovereign authority—the one to regulate the external concerns, the other to have the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people—all these rights they claim under the act of nullification. If we are asked, upon what grounds we place the right to resist a particular law of Congress, and yet regard ourselves as a consistent member of the Union, we answer, the ground of the compact. We do not choose, in a case of this kind, to recur to what is called a delegated right—we claim it as a constitutional right—not meaning, as some have imagined, that we derive the right from the Constitution. In this acknowledgment, they admit that they do not get the right of sovereignty from the Constitution, but claim it by the right of inheritance.

Since these Southern protectors have claimed the right of sovereignty over the lives, liberty and property of the people, let us see some more of their claims, while attempting

to bring us under their military power. After calling our attention to the glorious achievements of our ancestors, as though they were supporting the same government, when every principle they adopted was destroying it, they say in their address, "We conjure you, in this mighty struggle, to give your hearts, souls and minds to your injured and oppressed State, and to support her cause publicly and privately, with your opinions, your prayers, and your actions. But, if appeals such as these prove unavailing, we command your obedience to the laws and authority of the State, which none can gainsay or resist. We demand it by that allegiance which is reciprocal with the protection you have received from the State. We admit of no obedience to any other authority which shall conflict with that primary allegiance that every citizen owes to the State of his birth or adoption."

There is not, nor has there ever been, any direct or immediate allegiance between the citizens of South Carolina and the Federal Government—the relation between them is through the State. South Carolina having entered into the constitutional compact as a separate, independent, political community, as has been already stated, has the right to declare an unconstitutional act null and void. After her sovereign declaration that the act shall not be enforced within her limits; such a declaration is obligatory, as far as her citizens are concerned. The clear right of the State is to declare the extent of the obligation—this once made, the citizens have no course but to obey. If he refuses obedience, so as to bring himself under the displeasure of his only and lawful sovereign, and within the severe pains and penalties which, by her high, sovereign power, the Legislatures will not fail to provide in her self defence, the fault and folly will be his own. The address, speaking of the power of the Legislature's projects of usurpation, cannot be masked under pretences so likely to escape the penetration of select bodies of men as of the people at large. "The Legislatures will have better means of information. They can discover the danger at a distance, and possessing all the organs of civil

power, and the confidence of the people, they can at once adopt a regular plan of resistance." Now, it appears from the language of this address that they wished to impress on the minds of the people that this plan of protection had not been provided by the provisions of the Constitution.

The address also provides that the citizens owe their allegiance and obedience to the State, because of the protection they receive through the State, and that the State will not admit of any allegiance to any other authority than the State, and those to whom the State transfers them, so they do not only claim the allegiance to themselves, but the right to transfer them to whomever they please. And as they claim the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people, they can make slaves of them or sell them to others for slaves. This is certainly the most despotic plan of government on the face of the globe—adopted by Calhoun and his party, and by Lincoln and his party. The Ordinance of the Convention of South Carolina, in 1832, adopts principles to secure this power in the Legislatures of each State, over the people, as I will next show.

But in order to enable the reader to understand more clearly the error I wish to expose, embodied in this ordinance, I wish to show clearly that the word *sovereignty* does not belong to nor can be properly applied to the Legislatures of Congress, nor to the Legislatures of States, nor acts passed by majorities of either of them. For the acts of majorities, and the legislation of Congress and of States, are prohibited, by the Constitution of the United States, from having any power but what is expressly named, as I have shown, in the description of the formation of our government by the prohibitions there set forth, and that both those Legislatures are only the agents of the people, and not sovereign. All their powers are limited and restricted to making laws to protect all the members of the Union in their rights against wrong. The people have already declared what rights they shall be entitled to, and have not left it to the Legislatures nor to Conventions to say what their rights shall be or shall not be.

This States Rights party makes out that in the formation of

their government they appointed judges and juries to decide where disputes arise between themselves or their agents, swearing every one in office, from the constable to the President, to support and defend the principles they had already adopted. Not any acts of conventions or separate States should decide, for if that was the case, there could be no Union nor standard, nor solid foundation for a government to stand on. It would be like the house built upon the sand, which fell down during the first rain. It would be like a man buying a wagon to go a wagoning, but would not fix any breast chains or lock chains. He did very well on level ground when he kept the horses all pulling together, but when he had to go down hill the wagon would run over the wagoner and all the horses. If he should put the people before the wagon it would run over them, and if he put them behind the wagon it would run off and leave them. This is the kind of government the States Rights party are attempting to make for the people. The people would have no checks against the will of the Legislatures, nor against acts passed by them, no checks against acts passed by conventions, because they said the people had no government nor agency in forming the government, and that they had no course but to obey their sovereign, and if they refused obedience, so as to bring themselves under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereign, that the Legislature, in her high and sovereign capacity, would not fail to provide for her self-defence, the fault and folly would be their own.

This is the kind of government they offer the people under the States Rights doctrine, introduced by the Convention of South Carolina, in 1832. Then the Ordinance went on to secure this power over the people, and the Abolitionists of the North, and Lincoln, have, as I will show hereafter, adopted this same platform. This makes me think they are both acting in concert together, and that their object, from the beginning, has been to destroy the people's government, so that they can bring the people under a monarchical government, and place themselves in a situation where they can rob and plunder the people to any extent they please, and fix on themselves princely fortunes, so that they could live in princely royalty and grandeur. As I will endeavour to show you, their plan is well adapted to



accomplish it, if they are not checked, and that immediately, for here is their standard of principles laid down. That every State is a separate sovereign State, under no obligation only their own will. There could be no Union under that principle, if adopted it would destroy the Union, it would destroy every provision of the Constitution, and place the people under their State Rights doctrine, and would divide the government of the United States into as many different governments as there are States, and leave the people's government without any combination or National power to protect themselves against any formidable enemy, and also against legislative power, claimed by the Legislatures by their acts of majorities, and if they could get the military power would soon fix the people in a situation that they cannot have any course but to obey.

The Ordinance provides that the Constitution of the United States, as a compact between sovereign States, was a government to operate, to a certain extent, upon the people of those sovereign States aggregately, and not upon State authorities. Those are the acts of the Ordinance, for the purpose of forcing both the people of South Carolina and all others acting under the authority of the United States from establishing their powers assumed by this State over the people of South Carolina. In this convention they had the right to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and measure of redress, and that no lawful arbiter could be found sufficiently impartial to decide against them, therefore there was none provided. For this Ordinance first declares that Congress has passed tariff acts which are unauthorized by the Constitution, and that they are null and void, not binding on this State, its officers or citizens, and all promises, contracts and obligations made or entered into, or to be made or entered into, with purpose to secure the duties imposed by said acts, and all judicial proceedings which shall be hereafter in pursuance thereof, are and shall be held null and void.

The Ordinance here undertakes to rule and govern the acts of Congress without law, and contrary to the law of the Constitution, which provides that the Supreme Court of the United States should extend to all cases of law and equity arising under the Constitution of the United States, and in all cases

where a State was a party, was to have the original jurisdiction. But in place of going to that court for protection, this convention tries the case for themselves and by themselves, being but one party. Was there ever before any such a case claimed to be law, where one party were to sit for themselves and decide for themselves, without giving the other party a chance to put up a defence, or have a hearing in the case. If that system of government were adopted, each party would get a decision very easy for themselves, but who would they get to enforce it? If it could not be enforced, it could be of no use.

The next part of the Ordinance was to prevent all the constituted authorities, of both the State and the United States, from enforcing any law that had or shall be made against their decision. It provides that it shall not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities of this State, or of the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by said acts. Now, if they could not be collected by any of the constituted authorities, it left no other way but by force of arms. The Constitution provides that no article shall enter free in one port and pay duty in another, that the duties shall be uniform throughout the United States, yet they pretend they were acting according to the authority of the Constitution. Now, if that principle were adopted as a standard of government, the United States could not have any security in raising one dollar to defray the expenses of Government, because any State could prevent Congress from collecting one cent at any time they saw proper, and defeat all the designs of the Constitution, where it provides that Congress shall have power to lay on duties and excises to pay the expenses of government. According to their principles, a State could prevent Congress from discharging the duties assigned to them at any time they pleased. That would be not only impairing the obligation of contract, but would prevent Congress from paying off the officers serving the people under the Constitution of the United States, and of course would destroy it, and would deprive the people from any protection against the action of legislation or any other power they claim over the people.

"It shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this

ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement, and arrest the operation of said acts and part of acts of the Congress of the United States, within the limits of this State, from and after the first day of February next; and it shall be the duty of all other constituted authorities, and of all persons residing within the limits of this State, and they are required and enjoined to obey and give effect to this ordinance, and such act or acts and measures of the legislature as may be passed or adopted in obedience thereto."

Now, it will be seen that this States Rights doctrine claims the supreme power over all the acts of Congress, over the constituted government of the people, and over the people themselves, and commands their obedience and allegiance to them, not only what acts they *have* passed, but whatever acts they *may* pass. Now, the Constitution provides that the citizen shall be secure in his person, papers, houses and effects, and that security is to be inviolably preserved, and that no State shall have power to impair their obligation.

Now, if there had been any unlawful legislation on the part of Congress, the Court of the United States was the place to have tried the case, for that was the place the Constitution had fixed, outside of all legislation or acts of majorities, and all agents of the people, so that those who made laws should not decide for themselves.

Those courts were provided for the express purpose of protecting the people against unjust legislation and acts of majorities, both by Congress and Legislatures of States. The President's veto was another check—but three-fourths of the votes of Congress could overrule the veto—yet the courts could still overrule Congress, President and all, for, it is their business to know the Constitution, and protect them in all the rights secured to them in their States, and all over the United States.

Now, the ordinance says that, "in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of this State, wherein shall be drawn in question the authority of this ordinance, or the validity of such act or acts of the Legislatures as may be

passed for the purpose of giving effect thereto, or the validity of the aforesaid acts of Congress imposing duties, shall any appeal be taken or allowed, to the Supreme Court of the United States. Nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose. And, if any such appeal shall be attempted to be taken, the courts of this State shall proceed to execute and enforce their judgments, according to the law and usage of the State, without reference to such an attempted appeal; and the persons attempting to take such an appeal, may be dealt with as for contempt of court."

Now, all those acts passed in the ordinance are strictly in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution, and, if established as the standard of government, would destroy all the provisions of the Constitution, adopted by the people, and leave the people no course but to obey. Because, if you destroy the authority of the courts, you destroy the whole government; for it is the way in all governments in which the people are put in possession of their rights, when they are denied them by others. But if we, the people, go to dispute this sovereign Legislature's right of having the absolute control over our lives, liberty and property, and wish to carry our case before the United States for protection, this ordinance provides that "the citizen shall not take an appeal, nor copy of an appeal, and if he attempts so to do, this sovereign Legislature will not, in their high and sovereign power, fail to provide for herself, and treat him with pains and penalties, as for contempt of the courts, which they have established over all the constituted authorities of the United States." In order, more fully, to secure to them this power, claimed for the Legislature over the people, they provided further in their ordinance that, "all persons now holding any office of honor, profit or trust, civil or military, under the State, (members of the Legislature excepted,) shall, within such time and in such manner as the Legislature shall prescribe, take an oath, well and



truly to obey, execute and enforce this ordinance, and such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed in pursuance thereof."

Now, it will be seen, that the legislators of this State are sovereigns, and have no oath to take, but act according to their own will. But all the officers of the State, both civil and military, are to be sworn to enforce and execute this ordinance, and whatever acts the Legislature may pass in pursuance of the same. It provides further, that on the neglect or omission of any such person or persons so to do, his or their office or offices shall be forthwith vacated, and shall be filled up as if such person or persons were dead, or had resigned. And hereafter, no person elected to any office of profit, civil or military, (members of the Legislature excepted,) shall, until the Legislature shall otherwise provide and direct, enter on the execution of his office, or be in any respect competent to discharge the duties thereof, until he shall, in like manner, have taken a similar oath; and no juror shall be empaneled in any of the courts of this State in any cause, which shall be in question of the ordinance, or any acts of the Legislature passed in pursuance thereof, unless he shall first, in addition to the usual oath, have taken an oath that he will, well and truly, obey, execute and enforce this ordinance to the full extent and true meaning of the same.

Now, it will be seen that, "in no case wherein is drawn in question the authority of the ordinance, or any acts passed by the Legislature in pursuance thereof, that no judge or jury should be permitted to sit on the trial unless they were first sworn to decide against the person that disputed their authority, and in favor of their authority—which was, that the Legislature had, or should have, the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people—which was everything that could be thought of or named."

Now, let us see how this principle differs from the agreement

entered into, by the people under the Union, in the Articles of Confederation.

There the people entered into a firm league of friendship with each other to support and defend each other against all attacks made against them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty or any other pretence whatever—which covers everything that could be thought of or named. Now, those provisions are a part of the Constitution, where the people agreed to protect each other in everything that could be thought of or named.

The ordinance goes on to provide, “that the Legislature of the State shall have power to take everything from the people that can be thought of or named—both life, liberty and property, and leave the people no course but to obey.”

All this power they assume under separate State Rights sovereignty. Now, all this time, when Mr. Calhoun and his party, like Mr. Lincoln and his party pretended that their object was to preserve the Union, and not destroy it, every plan they adopted was strictly in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution.

Lincoln pretends he is trying to preserve the Union, when every act he does is destroying it, for he and his party have violated every provision of the Constitution. The citizen of each State was to have free ingress and egress, to and from, any other State, and take his property with him. No imposition duties or restrictions should be laid by any State upon the property of the United States, or any of them. No law or regulation shall be made by any State, to discharge from service, a servant, or person bound to service, due a citizen of another State; but, if a servant, or person bound to service, shall escape to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant, or person bound to service, due a citizen of another State.

Now, every one of those provisions Lincoln and his party have violated, and acted in opposition to the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution provides that citizens shall be secure in their persons, papers and effects, and that security was to be preserved inviolable; and that no State should have power

to pass an *ex post facto* law, nor law impairing the obligation of contracts.

What has Lincoln and his Abolition party been doing for many years? In place of protecting the citizens and making them secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects, they have, by acts of Legislatures, and acts of majorities, robbed the people of their African property, and prohibited them from the privileges held by other States, which right is secured to them by the Constitution. This is what I call passing *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and adopting the same plan of government that Davis and his secessionists have, to take away the rights of the people by acts of legislation and acts of majorities.

Again, Lincoln and his Abolition party have declared that the Southern members of the Union who own African property, shall not take their African property into any of their States, or move with it into any of the Territories of the United States, of which property they are the joint owners, and furnished their joint share of money and blood to obtain. They now say they will take from us all this right secured to us by the Constitution; and, if we do not remain in the Union with them, Lincoln and his Abolitionists will kill and rob us of everything we possess.

Now, this is the principle upon which Lincoln and his party are acting, merely because he thinks he has the brute force to do it. This will show that Davis and Lincoln assume and contend for the same political power, for, by acts of legislation and acts of majorities, they pass over the Constitution the same as though it did not exist—each claiming the same power at the heads of departments. The Davis secession party, at the commencement of their State Rights doctrine, pretended that they were trying to preserve the Union; but, since then, have declared themselves out of the Union. It is Liberty, Freedom and Independence they pretend to be contending for, so it is for themselves to have the absolute control over both the lives, liberty and property of the people. And Lincoln pretends that he is preserving the Union, while, at the same time, he is destroying every provision of the Constitution. It would seem,

from what I have shown, that these political chieftains have been acting under a great mass of ignorance, if their object was what they professed to the people; but this seems impossible. For these two military chieftains are men of great intellect—so are their colleagues, who are to be co-partners with them in the division of power, that I imagine it is to be divided among the leading characters in that way. I can discover great sense in their plan of carrying out the destruction of the people's government, and also in fixing a plan to secure to themselves the government over the people.

Now, as I have shown, under the government of the people, in the Constitution of the United States, each citizen was entitled to every privilege that any other citizen had; there was no distinction made. All the members of the Union were to be protected on any account whatever, so far as justice was concerned. The Constitution left no foundation for parties. This Union was to be perpetual, and never could be destroyed, unless parties were created; and this could not be done without putting false constructions on the provisions of the Constitution, or some political leader misleading the people, and they, through ignorance, following the advice of their deceivers.

As I have said, this government never could have been destroyed without parties, and the liberties of the people never could be taken from them, unless by getting them under military power. Now, you cannot get people under military power unless parties are brought into conflict with each other. Davis and his party, and Lincoln and his party have managed their part to bring about this conflict, when there was no necessity, to settle those disputes in any other way than by law, as I have shown. Those political chieftains were all lawyers, and men of such intellect, that they could not be so ignorant as not to know that. But, if their object was to destroy the government of the people, that would not answer their purpose—but let their object be what it may, both their principles are in direct opposition to the Constitution, and would destroy every provision in it. I will now attempt to show that the plan of government adopted by Mr. Calhoun, and also by the Abolition party, could not make any other kind of government than a king's and em-



peror's. He contended that every State was separate, sovereign and independent—had the right to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and manner of redress, and under no obligation but their own will, like any king or prince; that they had the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people—the clear right to declare the extent of the obligation, and, when once declared, the citizens had no course but to obey. But if they refused obedience, so as to bring themselves under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereign, and within the severe pains and penalties, the Legislature, in her high and sovereign capacity, will not fail to provide for her self-defence, their fault and folly will be their own.

Now, this ordinance of 1832 leaves no doubt, where and who they make the sovereign over the people, and they claim more power over the people than any king, prince or potentate in any civilized country. The African chief alone, that I know of, claims such powers, who eats whom he pleases, kills whom he pleases, takes from whom he pleases, and gives to whom he pleases. If they establish this power over the people, there is nothing to hinder those military chieftains from doing the same. Now, let us see what provisions they made to secure the power over the people they have claimed. Now, all this power they claimed, they derived from the ordinance, and it is explained in the ordinance, and by the address accompanying it. They provide that in no case where was drawn in question the authority of the ordinance, or any act or acts of the Legislature, in pursuance of the same, shall any judge or jury be permitted to sit on the trial, unless they would take the oath, well and truly to obey, execute and enforce the ordinance, and whatever act or acts the Legislature should pass, to the full extent thereof.

Now, this oath of allegiance was changed from supporting the Constitution of the United States to supporting any act the Legislatures might pass, in pursuance of the ordinance that gave the legislative bodies such power over the people. Next, they provide that in no case where shall be drawn in question the authority of the ordinance, or any act or acts of the Legislatures, in pursuance of the same, shall an appeal, or copy of an appeal, be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States. But,

if any appeal, or copy of an appeal, should be attempted to be taken, the person attempting to take such an appeal, or copy of an appeal, shall be dealt with as for contempt of court. They also provided that the Legislature should have power to fix a, time, and require every officer in the State of South Carolina to take a similar oath; and, if any officer refused to take the oath his office should be null and void, as though he were dead, or had resigned. They then provided for filling up such offices, and, if no one should offer to serve, the Legislature would appoint, and if those appointed would not serve, they were to be fined and imprisoned, and deprived of holding office for life. They also provided that there should be no appeal from a court-martial.

Now, the Constitution of the United States provides that the military power shall be subordinate to the civil power; but, you see this State Right secession sovereignty establishes the military above the civil, for when there is no appeal from any court, that establishes that court above all others. Now, those State Right sovereigns pretended, in all their proceedings, that their object was to preserve the Union, while, at the same time, they were willfully and wittingly destroying every vestige of it.

Now, if the Legislature has the absolute control over the life, liberty and property of the people, and a right to make any law they pleased, and under no obligation but their own will, as the ordinance declares, they were not bound by any oath, but left free to make any law, and the people were to have no course but to obey. And, having a military court, from which there could be no appeal, they could pass laws to inflict all punishments through these courts, and put any one to death under military power. They also provided that the Legislature should have power, from time to time, to provide suitable oaths for officers and citizens to take, and also to define what should constitute treason against the State, and the penalty thereto annexed.

The defence they put up was, if any one spoke against any act the Legislature passed, or resisted it in any manner whatever, the penalty should be death, without the benefit of the clergy, which means, without any chance of being reprieved.

Now, as there was no appeal from the decision of a court-martial, and they had secured to themselves the right to make any law they pleased, they being under no obligation but their own will. If the people spoke against any law they passed, or resisted it in any manner whatever, the penalty was death, without any chance to be reprieved. All judges and jurors that should be permitted to sit on the trial, should first be bound by oath, to well and truly obey, execute and enforce the ordinance, and whatever act or acts passed by the Legislature, to the full intent and meaning thereof.

Now, the Legislature, having the power to pass any law they pleased, can place the punishment of any crime they think fit in the hands of the military court, and through that, inflict death on any one they please. They further provide that, no indictment under this act shall be subject to traverse. They further provide, that on the trial of any suit or action, in which shall be brought in question the ordinance aforesaid, or these acts, the same may be given in evidence, without being specially plead, so that, according to this act, this case might be taken into the military court and tried, without your having a chance to put off the trial, to obtain witnesses for your defence, if you were ever so innocent of the offence brought against you, and put you to death without allowing you a chance to plead your cause. I now ask, does so great a despotism exist over any people on the face of the globe, or even among the heathens? If there is, I do not know where it is. All this they did, pretending they were preserving the Constitution, or, rather the reserved rights of the States, when they were destroying every security of any right to either life, liberty or property, and fixing a plan of securing to themselves the control over the lives, liberty and property of the people.

Now, those politicians not only made these claims over the people, but knew how to secure the power. And when you take this view of the matter, you will see they have acted with great wisdom to deceive the people; for under the pretence of protecting the people in their rights, they have organized a system of government that has secured and taken to themselves the absolute control over the lives, liberties and property of the

people, as I have shown, all under the pretence, first, of protecting you against an oppressive tariff on cotton, when, as I have shown, they never paid a cent of duties at home or abroad.

The next was under the pretence of protecting the people against Abolitionists. Under these two pleas they urged the people to let them call a convention, to devise means and ways to prevent these dreadful calamities that were about to fall on us. And in place of telling the people that the Constitution of the United States was the Union, and had provided laws to protect every member of the Union, North and South, and had prohibited all acts of legislation and acts of majorities from having any power to emancipate even the value of a pin from them, and the Courts of the United States would protect them, they came back and told us that it should not be denied but that a State had a right to emancipate, and that there should be non-intervention on the part of Congress. This is what they told us, and being all lawyers they ought to have known better. This they did in Cincinnati—but in the next convention they declared that they had the right to take everything from the people, and were under no obligation but their own will, and the right to decide for themselves, choose their own mode and measure of redress. Now, if every State is under no other obligation than its own will, there could be no union nor agreement between different States. For each State having a right to decide for herself, and choose her own mode and measure of redress, there could be no lawful arbiter found sufficiently impartial to decide against her, therefore she was unprovided for.

Now, this principle, if adopted, would establish as many distinct governments in the United States as there are States, all under no obligation but their own will, without any lawful agent to settle any disputes between them, each one to decide for herself, choose her own mode and measure of redress. If this principle was established as a standard of government, it would place us under the same system of government under which the heathen chieftains live, and would prevent us from having any combination of physical power, by which to defend ourselves



against any formidable enemy, and we would become an easy prey to them. Now, how any man could set forth such a barefaced and false construction, without one shadow of foundation, is astonishing to me. And how so many men could believe them is still more astonishing. It seems to me that they must have been acting through the counsel of kings and potentates, and employed to overthrow this great and happy government.

They also asserted that the Government of the United States possessed not one feature of nationality, and that it was a union of States and not of individuals. Now, if that were true, we could not have any nationality, for no officer in any State is bound by oath or affirmation to support and defend the Constitution of any State but his own. But, on the contrary, every officer in every State is bound by oath or affirmation that he will defend and support the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, it will be seen that there is no union between State authorities, for the oath of every officer in every State is that he shall disregard any constitution or law in any State, if it conflicts with the Constitution of the United States. This shows clearly that no sovereignty was fixed in the Legislatures of States. But if we would establish it as a union of State authorities, we would not have one feature of nationality, because the Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall enter into any treaty or compact with another State or foreign power.

Now, if we were to adopt Mr. Calhoun's principles, we could not enter into any treaty or compact with foreign powers, therefore we could not enter into any treaty of commerce with our own States, nor any other power. I do not see how Mr. Calhoun and his followers can assert that it was a union of States, and that State authorities were sovereign, under all the prohibitions and restrictions on the part of a State, for the word sovereign will not apply to any other than those who are under no other obligation than their own will. Now, the people of the United States, under the Constitution of the United States, have adopted it as their expressed will, as well as the principles embodied in it, and all agree with each other, and no one else,

that they will be governed by them, and that they will govern all others by them, thus forming the great physical and national body for protection at home and abroad, as I have already shown.

Mr. Calhoun also asserted that, under the Constitution of the United States, there were two governments—one Federal, the other State. He said the powers not delegated to the Federal Government were reserved to the States; that as far as the power delegated to the Federal Government was concerned, they were sovereign, and as far as the reserved rights of the States are concerned, they are sovereign, and each had the right to decide for themselves as to the extent of their power. The State government had the right to decide for herself, choose her own mode and measure of redress, and that the Federal Government would try to absorb all the reserved rights of the States, and by construction, encroach on the reserved rights of the States, as each government had the right to decide for itself, no lawful arbiter being competent to settle the dispute. The State would remonstrate, raise one party against another, and bring up a war of parties. At last they come into conflict with each other, the military chieftain at last takes the government into his hands, and the people, during these times, will be brought into so much distress that they will be willing to crouch under any government to get out of it, and it be obliged to be a monarchical government of some kind.

Now, all those principles, of which Mr. Calhoun speaks, are introduced by himself, and in direct opposition to the provisions of the Constitution, for there is no such a thing as a sovereign Federal Government nor a sovereign State Government, nor is there any power in legislation, or acts of parties or majorities, but what is given by the Constitution. The Constitution is a wall that none can legally pass over, and there is no party, either State or United States, that has a right to decide for itself. But the people have appointed a judicial power, apart from all law making power, who had the right to decide on all cases of law and equity arising under the Constitution. This is the court Mr. Calhoun wanted to do away with, and is the court our State Right sovereigns have done away with, for

it entered right into the essence of their sovereignty, so that they could not have the absolute control over the lives, liberty and property of the people.

Now, all those principles, introduced by Mr. Calhoun, would answer two purposes if adopted, one would destroy, effectually, all the provisions of the Constitution, and the other would be a plan by which his followers could create parties and bring them into conflict, so that they could bring the people under military power. For, as I have said before, the government, under the Constitution, cannot be destroyed, unless you create parties, and the liberties of the people cannot be taken from them unless you get them under military power.

You will ask me, perhaps, why those politicians took so much pains to fix so much power in the Legislatures over the lives, liberty and property of the people? Will they leave that power in their hands? I tell you *no!* Their object is to fix a king in every State, with all the power conferred on each king, and then make two emperors perhaps—Lincoln emperor at the North, and Davis emperor at the South.

I draw my opinions from the provisions of the Ordinance, and Mr. Calhoun's language in his book. The Ordinance provides that we will not admit of any allegiance to any other authority than the State and those to whom the State transfers that allegiance. You may see from this provision of the Ordinance that they provide for the Legislatures, power to transfer their allegiance to some one else. And as Mr. Calhoun, in his work, recommends to have two Presidents, one at the North and the other at the South, so that the Southern President could veto the acts of the North, and the Northern President could veto the acts of the South, and in that way each President could protect the interests of his own constituents. But Mr. Calhoun was not such a fool as to suppose that the veto of the President against the acts of the Legislature, or against the other President, could give security as a protection against wrong. But he could not get along any way but by parties. He asserted that the Government of the United States did not possess one feature of nationality.

Now, no government can get along without nationality. No

government could enter into a commercial treaty or compact with any other power, for there is no such a thing as a government having commercial intercourse with another government unless they enter into a treaty with each other, and agree to the terms upon which they will carry on this intercourse with each other. I think the United States did enter into treaties with nearly all nations of the world, and not a word was said about States Rights sovereignty in the treaties. So I think Mr. Calhoun has been mistaken about the United States not having a single feature of nationality about it; but let us see if his whole object was not to destroy the people's government, and bring them under the worst monarchical despotisms on earth.

Now, as Mr. Calhoun recommends two Presidents, I will reasonably come to the conclusion that there might be two emperors. He and his followers assert that the interests of the two sections are directly opposed to each other, that whatever is to the interest of the South is an injury to the North, and whatever benefits the North is an injury to the South, which I have already shown to be false.

But such arguments answer to create parties, if his principles and arguments were true that there ought to be two Presidents, we would need two emperors. But, after all, the arrangements under his party protections and combinations of different interests, he came to the conclusion that there would be brought about a conflict between this great combination of parties, every one trying to take care of his own interest without any regard for the interest of others. In his whole arguments he never reasons on what is right or wrong, what is just or unjust, but arrays his whole arguments about what different interests are and all antagonists are, and that those antagonists will bring about a conflict that the successful general will take the reins of government in his own hands, and that the result will be that the people will be brought into such great distress that they will be willing to crouch under any government to be released from the distress they will be in, and the result will be that a monarchical government will be established over the United States. Mr. Calhoun *might* foretell what would take



place when he had laid the whole plan to bring those events to pass. The first thing to be done was to make the people believe that all their interests were opposed to each other, when it was only every one's interest to protect each other against wrong. But I will endeavour to show under what kind of principles they are preparing to bring us. As Mr. Calhoun declares that the United States does not possess one feature of nationality, there are but three ways in which nationality can be established. One is by kings, the other by emperors, and the third is by such a government as the United States, where the people all enter into a written agreement with each other, adopting those principles agreed upon by all as the standard of government, agreeing all to be governed by them, and to govern all others by them, and by that way they form a combination of national and physical power to protect and defend each other against all attacks made against us or any of us, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Now, in the face of these truths, Mr. Calhoun declared that the United States had not a feature of nationality, but if Mr. Calhoun's statement was true, that it was a government of State Legislatures, and each State Legislature under no obligation but their own will, there could not have been any nationality in the State governments, for the Constitution of the United States provides that no State shall enter into any treaty or compact with any other State, nor with a foreign power. So that if Mr. Calhoun's statement were true, no treaty could have been entered into, because, without nationality, none can be entered into with any other government. It is necessary that nationality should exist.

The reason why emperors exist, or are created, is because there may be provinces which could not have a combination sufficiently strong to defend themselves against a formidable enemy, so that it might become necessary to enter into a national agreement to defend each other, and transact their nationality jointly.

After a treaty of commerce is entered into between two governments, it is necessary to have a consul in every port where we trade, to protect our citizens in their rights secured

by the treaty, and this causes the national expenses to be very heavy where the numbers of people are few. Now, if we make the Legislatures of each State sovereign, and they will not admit of any other allegiance than to the Legislatures, and those to whom they may transfer their allegiance, it would be reasonable, as they could not have any nationality under the Constitution of the United States, that they would establish their nationality through an emperor. So, you, see this foundation of separate State legislation is wisely fixed to bring us under an emperor, and this sovereign Legislature has the clear right to declare the extent of the obligation, and the people were left no course but to obey, and if any one spoke against any act of the Legislature, or resisted it in any manner whatever, the penalty was death, without any chance to be reprieved, and if their authority was disputed, they could seize you and try you without allowing you a chance to put off your case to obtain witnesses to prove your innocence, or even hearing your defence. So that if any villain was to have a spite at another, he could report him to the courts of those State Rights Legislatures and swear falsely and have him put to death, if ever so innocent of the charge. Now, if they will create such laws before they fully secure themselves in the power over the people, what will they not do if we suffer them to establish themselves. Now here is the deplorable condition we are in, if we sustain Lincoln's abolition power, or the Davis power it is the same, for both contend for State Rights, and the right to take everything from the people, and they are both exercising the same authority over their lives, liberties and property, both are forcing the people from their homes and families. Many a wife and large family of little children are left almost in a starving condition, while her husband is forced to the army to gratify these wicked traitors to humanity, liberty and their country.

Now, I can see no use they could have for introducing separate States Right power over the lives, liberty and property of the people, nor can I see any use to which it can be applied, unless it is to destroy the nationality of the people, acting under the Constitution, and to establish an emperor in its place—

each emperor or king having it in his power to make any law he pleases, and the people have no course but to obey, or be put to death by a military court. Now, to take this view of the subject, every principle adopted by Calhoun would answer to bring us under an Emperor, and destroy every right, liberty or privilege secured by the Constitution.

And, instead of the people living under the best government that has ever been created on the face of the globe, and the most securely protected in every right, liberty or privilege, the human family ought to enjoy, if they establish their government over us, we will, of all people under the shining sun, be the worst destroyed.

They have gone on with their plan, unresisted, and almost unsuspected, until they have very nearly accomplished their whole object. The Davis and Lincoln combinations have accomplished two of the most important points to carry out the destruction of the Constitution, and all the rights and liberties therein secured, for they have, in the first place, arrayed parties against each other, the only way in which the Union could be destroyed—all by falsehood and misconstruction by the Calhoun party and by Lincoln's Abolition party, passing unconstitutional acts. By the manœuvring of these two parties combined, they have succeeded in creating parties, and, by these parties, they have succeeded in bringing the people into conflict with each other, who wished no harm to each other, and had no desire to injure each other. But, by this military power, they are compelled to kill each other like brutes, and destroy property in every way they can, by building ships and establishing navies, and issuing treasury notes sufficient to bankrupt the United States.

Now, by adopting these parties, it enabled them to bring on a conflict, and that gave each party an excuse for raising a military force, so that they have succeeded in getting the people under military power, which they cannot resist, and from which they cannot recover, but in one way, (that I can see,) without making a sacrifice, which I do not wish to see them make. And there is but one way, that I can see, in which peace can be made honorably. We need not expect peace to be made by the Lin-

coln and Davis party combinations, if their object is really to destroy the government of the people, and force them under an emperor, which, every principle adopted by both parties, would indicate. All run into that channel, and neither of them could carry on the war by themselves. It took both their positions to create parties, and both their acts to bring on a conflict, and bring the people under military power. Both these principles are the same, claiming a right in the hands of the Legislatures of the several States to emancipate.

The Lincoln party claim, and act upon, the right to emancipate the slave property in their own States, while the Davis party declares, that it cannot be denied but that a State has a right to emancipate, and that there shall be no intervention on the part of Congress; and that the State has the right to take life, liberty and property from the people, and they have no course but to obey. They have adopted all the provisions that I have shown, to secure the power. So, it will be seen, that those two political bodies contend for the very same principles; for, if the Legislature of a State have power, by legislation, to take away one part of the people's property, they would have the power to take all. So, the only difference between the two is, that Lincoln's Abolition party have taken away the African property from the Northern States, while the Davis party declare that it shall not be denied that they had the right to emancipate and take everything from the people. Now, what are they fighting for? It cannot be because they differ in opinion as to the right to emancipate, for the Davis party goes farther in support of Abolitionism than I have ever heard from the Lincoln party. Both these politicians professed that their object was to preserve the Union, when every principle they have adopted would utterly destroy it. I have said a great deal about the principles adopted by our Southern politicians. I have pointed out their errors without reserve. If their errors originated in the head, and not in any bad intentions from the heart, I am sure they will not



blame me, but will be glad that their errors have been corrected, so that much harm may be prevented hereafter.

I will now endeavour to show that the Abolition party, both before and after the election of Lincoln, had violated every obligation of the Constitution, both to the North and South, and cannot be considered members of the Union.

And, in the first place, it will be recollected that I have fully established, by the provisions of the Constitution, that no State has power, by acts of Legislatures, or acts of majorities, to take even the value of a pin from the people. Now, what has this Abolition party done at the North? They have assumed the power, and emancipated from the people of the Northern States their African property, when the Constitution provides that the citizens of each State were to be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects, and that security was to be preserved inviolable; and all members of the Union were bound to protect each other, on any account whatever. But we were not bound to protect any but the members of the Union. In place of protecting the citizen in his just rights, according to the law of both God and man, they assumed a false power, not granted by the Constitution, which they had sworn to support and defend. It provides that no State shall have power to pass an *ex post facto* law, nor law impairing the obligation of contracts. It also provides that no law or regulation shall be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of another State; but, if a servant, or person bound to service, in one State shall escape, and flee to another State, they shall be bound to deliver such servant, or person bound to service, to the proper owner.

The Constitution also provides that the citizens of each State shall have free ingress and egress, to and from, any other State, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States, subject to the same restrictions and taxation in the same State, provided those restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent

the removal of property from one State to any other State, the citizen being an inhabitant thereof.

Now, the State Rights Abolition Legislature, under Lincoln's administration, have passed laws to prevent both their own citizens and those of any other State from enjoying the rights secured to them. For the Constitution of the United States provides that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State upon the property of the United States or either of them. Now, all these obligations entered into, and rights secured by the Constitution to the citizens, both North and South, have been denied by the Abolition State Rights legislative power. And, under this same power, our Southern State Rights Calhoun party are trying to force us; so you see they are acting upon the same principles, and both aiming at the same object, to wit: to establish emperors over the people, and, by that means, place them in such a condition that they can rob them to any extent they may think proper, and fix on themselves any salary they pleased, and live in princely royalty and grandeur, all at the expense of the poor laboring citizens. But let us see how much further these good State Rights Abolitionists have violated the provisions of the Constitution, and show that those two political bodies have both adopted the same plan to bring the people into conflict, so as to get them under their military power, and, by that means, take away their liberties. They pretend that their whole object is to take the African property from their owners and set them free, and, by that means, blind the people and hide the true object from their view. But let the people of the North look into this matter and see that the same rights which they take from the North they take also from the South, for whatever right a citizen of the North has, the citizen of the South has the same. For the Constitution of the United States provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States, so that whatever right a citizen has in any State,

every citizen throughout the United States has the same right. If it were otherwise, it could not be a Union, for the word *union* means *one*, not *two*; it means one, united, consolidated and cemented; so no right can be taken from the South, which should not be taken from the North. For, under the Constitution, there are no parties. Every citizen has the same right, and is entitled to the same protection, by the supreme law of the land, which law is embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

Now, this is the Union which I am in favor of restoring to the people in its original purity, and no other. But you will say, this is not the kind of a Union that Lincoln and Davis are trying to establish. Both their objects is to destroy it, as I have clearly shown, and bring the people under the grandest despotism that existed on earth, and they have already nearly accomplished their object. It will be seen that the object of the Lincoln Abolition party is to create parties, and pretend that they are acting for the rights of the North, while every act they do is taking away the rights of the people of the North. If they and the Davis party can succeed in establishing the power in the State Right Legislatures of each State, as they are trying to do, the people would not have even the shadow of a right. And, while the people of the North would be assisting them in taking the negro from his master, in place of making the negro free, he would bring the negro and himself both under the most tyrannical despotism that exists on earth.

Now, I am no more a friend to a citizen of the South than a citizen of the North. I am a friend of the whole human family, from one end of the globe to the other. We are all a part of God's creation, and He has commanded us to love one another, and I am certain that God has put it into my heart to write these things for your warning; and, if God will be so gracious as to cause the people to read and understand what I have written, and redeem themselves from this cruel despotism that is about to bring them into

everlasting ruin and destruction, give the glory to God and not to man. I fear we have sinned in that respect, and God is now about to convince us of our mistake.

We have been applauding the very men that have brought all this evil on the land, by acclamations and praise. We have, also, made images, and set them up in our houses, when the God, who gave us this happy government I have endeavored to describe, has commanded "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath—thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them."

Now, many have brought the images and likenesses of these into their houses, in honoring and aggrandising them, and to show their respect, which is a kind of worship, in my opinion. It is certainly sinning against the commands of God. They are also building monuments in honor and praise of man, when God is the only giver of every good and perfect gift. So that, if we have a good man, God is the giver; and if he renders good and kind services, it is God that gives him wisdom, and a willing mind to perform his duty, so that the whole gift is of God.

I fully believe that God, by his holy spirit, showed me all those things, which I have attempted to communicate to our unfortunate people, and that He has given me a willing mind to do so. I hope those principles that I have set forth as a standard of government, may be once more adopted over this once happy, but now the worst destroyed and most unhappy people on earth. Therefore, if God should be so kind as to re-instate you, in the happy condition that you once were, be sure to give Him the honor and glory, and not man. And try not to fix the honor too much on yourselves, for God will reward you according to your deserts. For God has shown me a plan by which, I think, the military power can be taken from these two military chieftains, and a way by which harmony, love, unity and friendship may be restored among all the people of America, and with-



out sacrificing any of the lives, liberties or property of the people. The plan is, for the Legislatures of each State, South and North, to call for an armistice for ninety days, and, if we succeed, both North and South must agree to it at the same time. It would not do so well for only one party to act by themselves; for this would be acting upon the same foundation. They have destroyed our rights by creating parties; but, under the Constitution, there were no parties. All have the same right, from one part of the Union to the other, to buy what he pleases, go into any State or territory he pleases, and be protected in it—not only in every State or territory, but as far as the flag of the United States waves, on any account whatever. Let the original Constitution, in its purity, be established, with those explanations added, for the purpose of guiding and directing the people and officers, in the true meaning of the provisions of the government created by the people, and established by the people, instead of acts of legislation and acts of majorities.

If we succeed in restoring back to the people this true standard of government principles, which, I hope, by the help of God we will, our government will last forever, for it is the government promised under the day of the Millennium. Now, let all the members of the Legislatures do their part in calling a Peace Convention, and every one that refuses to adopt those principles as a standard of government, you may be assured they are one of the party who are in colleague with those who are aiming to destroy the government of the people, and bring them under an emperor. And, as the whole work of destruction has been brought about by lawyers, they are the ones who would be benefitted by this government of tyranny and oppression; for, if they get a king in every State, it will require a great many officers to carry out all their royal authorities. And who would get these offices but the *lawyers*? and they would have to fix a high salary on them to preserve their loyalty.

Now, it has been the *lawyers* North and South that have brought all this evil on the land. They are the people who ought to have told the people how to be protected in their rights, and ought to have told them what their rights were. But in place of telling them what rights were secured to them by the government, they told the people that they had no rights at all, that the Legislatures of the States had the absolute control over their lives and liberties, and had a right to take everything from the people. a right to declare the extent of their obligation, and when once declared, they had no course but to obey. Now, this is the counsel we, the people, got from the lawyers of South Carolina, after their Convention in 1832. So I advise the members of the legislatures to watch the lawyers. I will admit that there are many honest lawyers, and as good men among them as the world can produce, and there are honest men, both lawyers and citizens, who have taken an active part with those two political parties, as the world can produce. I do not point out any one in particular as a traitor, with all the bad designs and intentions, that must have existed with the originators of those principles, adopted by those destroyers of the Constitution.

As we do not know at this time, and as all the originators that we have any clue at are dead, and as we are well assured in our minds that the largest bulk of mankind have been actuated in all they have done, from the best designs and intentions, I would say to the Legislatures, let them all agree that all who come in willingly under the original Constitution in its purity, that no disgrace nor charge shall be brought against them, but that all shall come in free, and that so far as faults are concerned or have been committed, no pains nor penalties shall be inflicted of any kind, small or great. The principles written out, and the explanations are so reasonable and just that any one who does still resist and attempt to carry out those unjust principles, giving power to the Legislatures to rob and take everything from the people, after they have seen those explanations and still attempt to go on and establish that despotism over the people, should never be allowed to become a member of this Union. As I have before shown, the Lincoln Abolition

party have forfeited every obligation under the Constitution, have made parties to deceive the people of the North, and pretended they were not doing them any harm, when they were depriving them of every right secured. For by their acts they are trying to bring the people under their legislative power, just as the secessionists are trying to bring the people under. They have passed laws to take your property from you without any compensation, they are now giving Davis an excuse to resist them, and are giving him a chance to bring two parties into conflict, and by that means they have an excuse to bring the people under military power, and by that means they are destroying the government, and taking away all the security for either life, liberty or property, as it is this day, and this power they assume through acts of legislation and acts of majorities in the Legislatures of each State.

Now, you see, as I have shown, that those two parties act on the same principles. The North say they have the right to emancipate—the South says “it shall not be denied that a State has the right to emancipate and take everything from the people.” Now, on what grounds do those two great political parties differ. I do assure the people of the North that if they favor Lincoln’s administration they will be brought under the same despotism that Davis’ administration is attempting to bring upon the people of the South, as I have shown, and bring all under emperors.

Now, the Constitution of the United States provides that no law nor regulation shall be made by any State to discharge a servant or person bound to service due to a citizen of another State; but if a servant or person bound to service shall escape to another State, they shall be bound to deliver up such servant or person bound to service. Now, by that same State Right doctrine, claimed by the secessionists, the Lincoln party have passed acts in ten States, that if a servant or person bound to service shall escape to their State he shall be free, and by way of deciding for themselves and choosing their own mode and measure of redress, the Abolitionists have passed acts that if any one attempted to recover a servant or person bound to service, or aided and assisted in recovering such servant, the

person so attempting to recover such servant should be fined to a heavy extent, and imprisoned for a long time.

Now, these acts were a direct violation of the Constitution, and if adopted, as the standard of government, would destroy the whole object of the framers of the Constitution, to wit: the protection of each member of the Union in all his just rights. So if these acts were suffered to exist, there would be no Union. Now, this looks very much like those two parties were acting in concert. Both and all their acts are unconstitutional. Each party are trying to establish all power in the hands of the Legislature. In this part they both agree, while the very object of the framers of the Constitution was to restrict all acts of legislation and acts of majorities from having any power to take even the value of a pin from the people. The next thing that the Lincoln Abolitionists and the Davis secessionists did was to pass a law in Congress that every State should have the right to come into the Union. with or without slaves; this was also unconstitutional, and only calculated to create parties—this the secessionists also agreed to.

Now, the Constitution of the United States provides that every officer throughout the United States shall be bound by oath or affirmation that they will support and defend the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding any constitution or law in any State to the contrary. Now, this shows clearly that every State has to come into the Union on the same terms as the first did. There is but one way to come in. If they were to come in under different rights and privileges, it would lay down a plan to create parties, and by that means lay the foundation for the destruction of the Union. As both parties agreed to it, it shows that they are acting in concert. Now, the two parties have created a sufficient number of parties to overthrow the Constitution.

Mr. Calhoun had found out a plan to fill a whole book full of parties, which he said were constitutional, while, I think I have shown, they are every one false constructions, and that not one of his or Lincoln's were constitutional, but directly opposed to it, and could answer no other purpose than to place the people in a situation that they could establish over them an emperor.



Now, after these two parties have so well agreed in forming their party principles, let us see what plan they will adopt to get the people into a conflict, so that they may be enabled to get them under military power, and force them under any kind of government they please, and place them in a situation that they will have no course but to obey. The Lincoln Abolition party declares that the owners of slave property shall not carry their property into any other State or territory, although they fought for it and gave their full share of money to pay for it. This was fully sufficient to cause the slave States to resist. The secessionists told the people that there was no better way to resist than to go out of the Union, and reasoned with the people in this way—if three persons entered into a copartnership, and two of them tried to swindle and cheat the third one out of his rights, had he not a right to withdraw from the copartnership? The answer was at once yes,

But let us see whether this figure would suit the case or not. In the first place those three individuals must be out of a government or in one. If out of a government, he had the right to withdraw, for he had no help against the two, but at the same time he would have to leave his property in their hands and lose it. But suppose they were living in a government and the two tried to swindle the one, he had a right to withdraw and call on the government to protect him in his rights. And when the law protected him in his rights, it made him stronger than the two, while out of the government they were stronger than he.

Now let us see how the case will apply to the secession of South Carolina. The acts and declarations of the Lincoln Abolitionists were that they would deprive the members of one portion of the Union of their just rights, secured to them under the Constitution, which provides that no State should have power to impair the obligation of contracts. But the Abolitionists, in face of these laws, passed acts to rob many of their own people of their rights, and the Southern people of all their rights.

Now let us see how our South Carolina friends acted under these circumstances. They run out of the Union and left all the shipping, arms, ammunition and territories in the undis-

puted possession of the Abolitionists, and by their act relinquished all right and title to all those, according to the law of nations. For, as they quit the government, they relinquished all public property belonging to the government. They never once claimed their right to it, but told them if they would let them alone they might have it all. Now, this act of secession left the people without shipping, navy, arms, ammunition and territory. They told the people they must fight for their rights, when they had given to the Abolitionists everything, and left them nothing to fight *with* and nothing to fight *for* but to establish the power in those legislative State Right bodies. So in place of applying to the law to protect us in our rights, we left everything in the hands of the Abolitionists. They gave up everything, not even telling us what rights we had, but gave to the Abolitionists everything they claimed, and in their conventions created laws for the Abolitionists to act upon, as I have already shown.

Now, under those circumstances, how can those two parties make any showing to acquit themselves of the charge of acting in concert, for the very purpose I have indicated, viz: to make two emperors. For Davis' party urge the people never to go back into the Union, and Lincoln's party have never made any proposition to the Southern States that they could accept. So that it is evident that the Lincoln Abolition party do not want them to return to the Union in its original purity, for if they did they would return to it themselves, for they are as much out of the Union as Davis and his party are. The union he proposes to the South is that if the South shall suffer him and his Abolition party to rob and take whatever property they please from the South, and let them dictate to them what kind of property they may own or not own, they might live with them in their robbing government, not under the original Union in its purity, but under such a union as they may see fit to establish. And I wish the people of the North to examine into this matter and see if they are not assisting the Abolition party, not only in robbing us but also robbing themselves of every right secured to them under the Constitution, and bringing them under the greatest despotism on earth. Now, they are legally and

honorably bound to protect and defend us and themselves in every right secured to us and them under the Constitution of the United States in the Union. For while you are aiding and assisting them by their acts of legislation and acts of majorities to take away *our* rights, you are aiding and assisting Davis and Lincoln in establishing the grandest military despotism over yourselves and children that exists on the globe, under the pretence that they are fighting for the liberty of the negro.

If they establish the right and the power in the Legislature to take from the people any one part of their property of course it would establish in them the right to take all. The State Rights party have defined their power that is to be placed in the Legislature, and acts of majorities, that they are to be under no obligation but their own will, more than any prince or potentate, neither should they suffer themselves, under any other restraint; and that they had the absolute control over the life, liberty and property of the people—the clear right to declare their obligation, and, when once declared, the people had no course but to obey. And if they refuse to obey, so as to bring themselves under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereign, and the severe pains and penalties affixed by her high and sovereign power, the Legislature will not fail to provide for her self-defence, the fault and folly will be their own. This language leaves no doubt where the sovereign power will be fixed. Now, this is the power that the Davis party and the Lincoln party are trying to establish over both North and South. Now, if those principles were established as the standard of government, in place of the Constitution of the United States, the Legislatures of each State being under no obligation but their own will, and having no checks against any act they thought proper to pass, the people would have to submit to it. And those Legislatures having to be elected by majorities, any fanatical body which could gain the ascendancy, could elect their party, and under that form of government, take everything from the people.

One party might gain the ascendancy to-day, and put the

people in the possession of their rights, and to-morrow the other party might gain the ascendancy, and take away everything from the people. It would be like throwing a cork on the sea—it would be there to-day, but there would be no telling where it would be to-morrow. Life, liberty, property and everything would hang on uncertainties. Now, this is the kind of government that Davis and his party, and Lincoln and his party are trying to establish over the North and South. The North has already experienced some of the effects of this government, for, by the acts of State Rights sovereignty, and acts of majorities, they say what kind of property you shall own, and what kind you shall not. Now, if they have the right to deny you, the right to own one kind of property, they have the right to pass acts, denying you the right to own any kind of property, and also to pass acts that you should be their servants, and that you should transfer the proceeds of your labor to them; and, according to the declarations made in their conventions, they had the right to take everything from the people, and that they had no course but to obey. And if the people refused obedience, so as to bring themselves under the displeasure of their only and lawful sovereign, and within the severe pains and penalties which, in her high and sovereign power, the Legislature would not fail to provide for herself, the fault and folly would be their own. Now, acting under this form of government, the Abolition party have first robbed the people of their African property, which, as I have shown, the Constitution of the United States had secured to every member of this Union, one and the same right.

The right of owning the heathen is a right given by God to Moses, by express command, “command the children of Israel to take unto themselves servants of the heathen that are round about them, and that they should be their servants, they and their children for ever.” And the whole Scriptures abound with proof as to the right of owning the heathen as servants, and reason itself would justify it. For



instance: look at the African in his own country, and many other heathens, and see what is their situation in their own country, in regard to the salvation of their souls. The Scriptures say, "there is no other name given under heaven, or among men, whereby we must be saved, but the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." It says, also, "he that believeth on the Lord Jesus Christ shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned." It says, also, that faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the preaching of the word, and how can they hear without a preacher? and how can they preach unless they are sent? Now, in that respect, there have been no preachers sent, and if they were sent, what would be their condition? They could not understand their language, and if they took it in their heads, they might kill and eat them. But let us put the missionary plan of civilizing and christianizing the heathen on the best footing we can, and see what their prospect would be. Let us send missionaries to Africa to civilize and christianize the Africans, and they do not kill and eat them, it will take a long time to learn their language, they might take sick and die—(it is said to be a very sickly country)—but suppose they escape being killed and eaten, and do not die with sickness, and that they succeed in learning their language, and that they succeed in getting the good will of the chieftain, and that they could teach him and all his subjects who the true and living God is, and our lost favor with God; and the way God is willing to be reconciled to us by faith in Christ, as undertaking to fulfill the law, and suffer the penalties of the law for us, and in our stead; and that every one under that chieftain were to become Christians, and that they would begin to cultivate the soil and live in a civilized and Christian manner—have hogs, horses, cattle and everything plentiful about them—what would be their fate? Their having property about them, and plenty on which to live, would only be a temptation to the neighboring savage chieftains to fall upon, rob, murder and destroy them and all they pos-

sessed. For all heathen nations are governed by nothing but self-gratification. So they are gratified, they care not how much others suffer. So, by this, you will see what great blessings God has bestowed on the people of America by the preachers of the Gospel, who preach the true word of God—not the words of abolition and robbery, but the protection of every member of the Union—not to rob the master of his servant.

Now we see the awful condition the heathens are in, from what I have shown. Missionaries cannot relieve the heathens from the deplorable condition in which they are placed, for in every heathen land the people are controlled by military chieftains, and divided into little squads or parties, and none of them lie down at night with any assurance that they will be alive in the morning. Now, it seems to me, that the true condition of the heathen is such that the missionaries cannot reach their case. For this plan has been adopted by man for near two thousand years, and where has one nation been civilized or christianized by that plan? Look at the many Indian tribes that live among us, how many of them have been christianized and civilized by missionaries? But let us turn our attention to the African race, as I have shown their true condition in their own country, that they have no security for their own soul, life, liberty or property. Nor is it possible that they could have it otherwise, in the condition under which they are placed, in all heathen nations. Let us turn our attention to them under the protection of their Christian masters.

They are brought to the land of light and knowledge, where the true and living God is preached to all, from the least to the greatest, and the plan of salvation is proclaimed by the preachers of the Gospel. It is by and through the authority of God made known, that salvation is offered to all the human family, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by and through faith in his satisfaction, all may be saved. The African receives this offer, and has the chance

of hearing the Gospel preached, which he could not have heard in his own country. There he could never have had a chance to embrace the offers of salvation.

Now, under these circumstances, what can the Abolitionists think of themselves, who preach that they ought to be left in their own country, and conceal all this light and knowledge from them, which would prevent the Devil from having full control over both soul and body. What credit do they think they will get from God, when they go before His judgment seat? God commanded the children of Israel to take unto themselves servants of the heathen round about, and they should be their servants, they and their children, forever. He also promised his people that He would give to them the heathen for plowmen and vinedressers.

Now, the Abolitionists oppose everything that God has commanded and promised; but, from what I have shown, the great wisdom and goodness of God, has been made manifest towards those Africans, whose good fortune it has been to be brought here into this land of light and knowledge, where the true and living God is so fully known, that it cannot be hid, neither can the plan of salvation be hid from any one who will dilligently seek after it. Now, if the African had been left in his own country, he and his posterity would have been deprived of this great blessing. And what does the Scripture say on that subject—"what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul." Man had nothing he could give, but Christ came and kept the law in our stead, and paid the penalty of the law for us, and promised salvation to all who would believe in and receive the salvation freely offered, by faith, without money and without price.

Now, the Abolitionists recommend us to let the Africans remain in their own country, and let the Devil have full control over both their soul and body. And why? It cannot be because they are free, for their life, liberty and property are in the hands of their military chieftain, he can kill whom he pleases, eat whom he pleases, and deprive them of every right the human family should enjoy, just as the Lincoln party and

the Davis party are trying to do with the people both North and South.

But let us further examine the condition of the African servant in our Christian land, and see if there is any truth in what the Abolitionists represent. We see what unspeakable blessings are bestowed on them, as it regards the salvation of their souls. But the Abolitionists say we make them work for us, and give them nothing for their work. Let us see if that is true. In the first place they are bought by their master, or become his by inheritance, the master controls their savage and heathen principles, and brings them under the rules of civilization, and teaches them who the true God is, and the plan of salvation. He furnishes them a home to live in, food and clothing; land to work, horses, wagons, and tools of every kind necessary to work with, instructs them and directs their labor to advantage by himself or his agent. He protects them from imposition from any source whatever, his interest binds him to do this if there was no humanity in the case. But as the servant is his money, the master has a double interest in him. The servant has his master's interest and humanity, both, to secure his protection. It could not benefit the owner to oppress him, nor yet to hurt him, unless he committed crimes which would require punishment to prevent his committing them again. So that a servant who is bought with money, and works for his master, has a greater security against injustice and oppression than the servant who works for money or wages. If the servant's master owns his wife and children also, he feeds and clothes them, if they belong to another master, he feeds, clothes and takes care of them. If they get sick, he calls in the best physician, and nurses them attentively until they either die or recover. The interest that the master has in him as his money, as well as the interest of humanity, makes him willing to do all he can for him.

But how is it with the hired servant at the North, or in any other part of the country. Those who hire them care nothing for them, more than to get as much work out of them for as little money as they possibly can, and a great many cheat them out of nearly all of their hard earned and scanty wages. If



their family is sick, their distress is not cared for, and perhaps the husband has not means to employ a physician, and cannot spare time to give the attention needed to his family. If their true condition was faithfully pictured out, it would be found to be deplorable, and much worse than the condition of the Africans, which the Abolitionists pity so much.

The Abolitionists at the North prefer to make servants of white men, while the people of the South prefer to have servants of the heathen, as God has commanded. Here, they have a chance to receive all the blessings of life and security, and all the blessings of that free salvation assured by Jesus Christ, which the Abolitionists are trying to deprive them of. But this is the only plea that Lincoln and his Abolition party have to make war on the people of the South. And why? Because the people of the South are not willing to let these Abolitionists rob them of their African property, and become united with their robbing party, who have first robbed every member of the Union in their own States by acts of majorities and acts of legislation, of all the rights secured to them by the Constitution. Because if they establish the right in the acts of legislation and the acts of majorities, to take from the people one part of their property, it would establish the right to take your life, liberty and all your property, which power is really claimed by the conventions of disunionists, both North and South, calling themselves Democrats, when there is not one particle of democracy in one principle they have adopted, as a standard of government. For that which constitutes pure democracy, is where the people all govern, and that can only be done by having a written agreement on the principles by which they all agree to be governed, and govern all others, and protect and defend each right, liberty, person and property of each individual contained in that writing; that would be true democracy.

Now, do the principles adopted either by Davis or Lincoln do that? Are not both their acts and their declara-

tions the very reverse, as I have already shown? Now, could it be possible, that Lincoln and his Abolition party could have such great love for the negro that they would give away the life of two Northern citizens, just for the sake of getting one negro away from his master? I am certain that they will have to give the life of two Northern citizens for every negro they take from his master, besides the vast amount of debt and distress they will bring upon the people. . . But they pretend they are trying to bring the Southern States back into the Union of the Constitution of the United States. For it provides that every citizen be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects, and that security shall be preserved inviolably. But is this what Lincoln and his party are doing? No. He raised an army and came upon the South, killing, and robbing and threatening to take away the entire African property of the Southern people, while this property is more strongly secured and protected, under the Constitution, than any other property in the United States.

Now, when Lincoln and his party are robbing, killing and destroying citizens, whom they are bound by oath to defend and support, can he or his party be members of the Union? Does not the Constitution provide that the citizens of each State shall have free ingress and egress, to and from any other State, and take his property with him; and that no imposition duties or restrictions shall be laid by any State upon the property of the United States, or any of them? Have not the Abolition party violated all these agreements? Does not the Constitution provide that no law or regulation shall be made by any State to discharge a servant, or person bound to service, due to a citizen of another State? But if a servant, or person bound to service, should escape to another State, they shall be bound to give up such servant, or person bound to service.

Now, has not Lincoln and his party violated every obligation of the Union in that respect? He admits that those

who own servants are members of the Union, and violates the Union to them, and if they will not remain in his robbing Union, he will bring his robbing army upon the people of the South and take away everything from them, if they do not submit to his robbery. They also denied the citizens of the South a right to settle with their property in the territories, which belonged as much to the South as to them, or more, for their own acts put them out of the Union, and, legally, they had no right in the Union.

Now, this will show to the people of the North that Lincoln and his Abolition party are not fighting to preserve the Union, but to destroy it. And I have no doubt, in my mind, that Davis and Lincoln are acting together for the same purpose—that is, to make a King in each State, and themselves Emperors. For the whole of those plans and principles have been adopted by lawyers, and if they succeed in establishing a king in every State, it will require a great many officers to carry out the government of these royalties; and, of course, those offices will be filled with lawyers.

Now, take this view of their principles adopted, and you can see some sense in their proceedings; but, view it in any other light, and it will seem utter folly and ignorance. Now, from what I have shown, it is impossible that either of those two parties are trying to protect the people in their constitutional rights, while both parties adopted the same principles to destroy them. It cannot be denied but that the Abolition party did rob the people of the North of their African property by acts of legislation and acts of majorities of separate States. This is the very same principle that the Davis State Rights party are contending for. Now, you will see from what I have shown, that the object of these two military chieftains is not to fix principles to protect the people in their rights, but to place them in a situation that they can rob and take everything from them. They knew that they had to destroy the Constitution before they could do that. So take that view, and you see sense in the Davis party for quitting the Union, and giving Lincoln and his party all the shipping, navy, arms, ammunition territories and everything, to get out of the Union, under the

pretence of protecting the people against Lincoln and his Abolition party, when they were, at the same time, adopting principles as strong as words or language could express, to sustain the Abolitionists, as I have already shown.

Now, I wish the people of the North to fully understand that the object of the Lincoln party is not to give the *negro* liberty, but to bring the negro under the grandest tyranny upon earth, and the whites along with them. I consider the people of the South and North innocent of all, except suffering themselves to be *fanaticised* and deluded by the influence of these lawyers. But I know they are a slick-tongued kind of people. I wish to inform the North that if they persist in aiding Lincoln and his Abolition party in robbing the people of the South of their African property, they may expect to give the lives of two sons, or the women two husbands for every negro, small or great, they take from their owners. The people of the South are all united on that point.

What right has Lincoln and his party to come to our homes and firesides to rob and plunder us? The South has the just right, by the law of God and man, to kill every one that comes on that errand, and will do it as long as there is a man to fight; we will be right, and you will be wrong. It is clear that Lincoln's object is not to preserve the Union, for, if it was, he would go back to the Union. And then he might, with some propriety, say to the South, I have erred myself, and failed to comply with the provisions of the Constitution. Let us both return to it. I will, for the future, comply with all the terms of the Union. Let us be friends and helpmates to each other, against all attacks made against us, on any account whatever. Then he would look more like he wished to preserve the Union.

But, in place of his doing that, he raises a great army, after doing the South so much injury and injustice under his Abolition principles, and begins to rob, kill and take everything from the people; but proposes to make peace if the South will suffer him to rob them as much as he pleases. This is the kind of government Lincoln offers to the South, and Davis' party offer the people of the South the same kind of government.

Now, the people need never expect peace from the Lincoln



party nor from the Davis party, until they get the people all under military power, and then they will make peace with each other, and agree that each one shall be emperor, and assist each other to sustain the power over the people, as I have already described.

Now, I have endeavored to show how these two political chieftains deceived and got the people under their power. In the first place, the disunion party, a small party of their deluded followers, under the appearance of calling a Convention, pronounced the people of South Carolina out of the Union, (without asking the people's consent either,) and called on the people to form themselves under a military organization, to protect their homes, their firesides and their families, and pretended to form a constitution after the form of the original, but never consulted the people. All this was said to be done on account of the Abolition raiders. They declared South Carolina to be separate and sovereign. The Union claimed the port of Charleston, and collected the revenue of all the impost duties. Lincoln sent his vessel, they fired on it, took possession of all the public property they could lay their hands on. This gave Lincoln an excuse to come with an army, which he did, without any authority but his own. That gave Davis' party an excuse to call for volunteers to protect their rights against the Abolitionists, and, in this way, they managed to get up military power.

Now, Lincoln pretended that he was protecting the Union, while every act he did was violating it. But Davis' party having withdrawn from the Union, placed those that were friends of the Union of other States so that they could not help the South, and the friends of the Union at the South could not assist Lincoln's Abolition principles, and could not join the North.

Now, this is the way the friends of the Union, in its purity, have been swindled out of their government. So you see those two political chieftains are not fools, but through their intrigues and ingenuity have, so far, accomplished everything they have attempted. I have now endeavored to show the people of the South and North, the deplorable condition they have been brought into, under the direction of these two military chief-

tains. And now I wish to point out a plan to get out of this military power, and get the people all out of the war to their homes and deserted families—children to their parents—husbands to their wives and children. There is but one way that I know of, in which it can be done. Let the legislatures of every State, North and South, call for an armistice for ninety days, and, at the same time, call for a peace convention of every State, North and South. I have written out a platform for all to examine, which, I think, no man can object to who has any desire to do right, with many explanations to guide the mind and assist the judgment of every member of the legislatures of the United States, North and South. And to show that the course I point out is legal and constitutional, I will call your attention to the Constitution, which you all have been sworn to support and defend.

There are two ways for calling a convention provided, one is by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress; the other by two-thirds of the Legislatures of the several States. The States of the South, still living under the constitutional government, are, or ought to be, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and have never been admitted to be out of the Union of the other States. And, in accordance with the powers claimed for each State, by the Lincoln and Secession parties, that every State had the right to decide for herself, and choose her own mode and measure of redress, the remedy I propose will not be in violation of the rights claimed by the secessionists, and it will be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. Under these circumstances, let the legislatures of the several States call for an armistice for ninety days under the original Union, in its purity. You need not suppose that Lincoln's party, or Davis' party either, will assist you in the work of reconstruction of the Union; for, from all appearances, both their intentions, from the beginning, were to destroy the Union, and place the people under the greatest tyranny and oppression in the world.

Now, if you can succeed in redeeming the people out of their deplorable condition, your names will be handed down to posterity as the *redeemers* of *your country* from the greatest tyranny

on earth, and the restorers of the tree of liberty from the hands of tyranny, which may, in time, spread its shadow over the whole earth; and all men will call you blessed to the end of time.

Now, I wish to apprise you of a danger that will follow, if you members do not act on this plan immediately. If you neglect to attend to calling for an armistice, and for a peace convention, through the members of the legislatures of each State, until Lincoln can get the people of all the Northern States under his military power, he and the Davis party will be fixed, so that they can pass laws that if any one should speak against, or resist in any manner, any act they may pass, the penalty will be *death*. And having their military court arranged according to the plan of the South Carolina Ordinance, and placing the citizen in a situation in which he could not traverse his case, they could try him without his case being plead. Now, you see, under this military court, they having the law and the sword in their own hands, they could commence making kings in every State, and unite their nationalities in two emperors.

You will see in their conventions they have laid the foundations to establish all these things. All they lack of establishing their power over the people is, that Lincoln has not fully got the military power over the North, like Davis has over the South. Now, from what I have shown, you will see the great necessity of immediate action on your part to make the move more certain. It might be proper, on the part of the legislatures, to have this pamphlet printed into as many copies as will furnish every voter in every county in each State, and also a copy to each officer and soldier in each State, call for their votes, if they are willing to come under this platform as a standard of government that I have explained, which is only the principles properly explained in the original Constitution of the United States in its purity, and I will venture to say there will be more than three-fourths, if not all, who will agree to be bound by it to support and defend it, North and South, except those who want to destroy it. But suppose you fail to adopt or act on this plan of a remedy, I know of no other that you could adopt to escape utter ruin and destruction, and if you do

not, let me show you the evil that will come upon you. They will create kings over you, and emperors, you will be taxed to build palaces for them to live in, taxed to supply them with a sufficient amount of money, to live in princely royalty and grandeur; you will be taxed to supply all the officers necessary to keep up this royalty and grandeur. You will also have your sons dragged from you, under the name of conscripts, to protect them against any resistance, and the people will be taxed to feed and clothe this army.

All those taxes will be levied not to supply the wants of the government, but to supply the wants of those who have, through deceit and flattery, brought you under this destruction and ruin, besides all those heavy debts already brought on us by those two military chieftains. They have already claimed, in their conventions, that they have the absolute control over both the lives, liberties and property of the people, and that they had the right to take everything from the people, and they are doing it now as fast as they can, all under the pretence of protecting the people against one another. Now, all the real wants of government are not included in the taxes I have mentioned. They would have it in their power to build monuments, extravagant public works, and all kinds of extravagance. For you must recollect that the *sovereign*, be it a State or a man, was to be under no obligation but their own will, so I do not wish to make any false representations. It is evident that they did not intend for the sovereignty to remain in the legislatures, for their declaration was that they would not admit of any allegiance to any other authority than that of the State, and those to whom the State might transfer that allegiance. So it is evident they intended a transfer, which must be to a king and emperor.

Now, under the Constitution, there is neither king nor emperor. Neither is there power to tax the people for anything but the real necessary wants of government. They owe no allegiance to any except to one another. Now let us see what was our situation under the Constitution as a standard of government in its purity, if all parties had complied with the obligations established under it. We were the happiest and



securest people in all our rights, liberties and privileges upon the face of the globe. We had every right that the human family ought to possess. We had a right to work when we pleased, and at whatever we thought fit; we had free trade with the whole world; no tax nor duty to pay on any article we exported out of our own country; at home no duty to pay on any article passing from one State to another State. The written agreement that existed between us, secured all these rights and liberties, besides hundreds of others in our own government, as well as our rights through commercial treaties with other governments, which were secured as well as could be done under those favorable circumstances. We increased in wealth and prosperity beyond any people ever known. From a small number we increased, in less than a hundred years, to become a powerful nation of people. Through commercial intercourse with the whole world we were put in possession of every luxury produced upon earth. We were at peace with all nations on the face of the globe, and the interest that all nations had in our commerce was calculated to preserve peace so long as we acted justly and uprightly with them. Our flag was honored in every country and clime; our citizens were treated more like kings than citizens; our Government was called the "Father of Liberty," and so it was, it was a home for the distressed or oppressed; the widow's stay and the orphan's protector; it was kind to the poor, and fed the hungry, not only in her own land, but through her commerce, fed thousands in other lands. And all the people called her blessed.

We had increased in wealth and numbers until no two governments on earth combined could have conquered us, and left a sufficient number at home to protect themselves. Now, if we will continue to exert ourselves, and make every effort to obtain an honorable peace, we may yet be restored to our former greatness and happiness.

Now, it will be seen that all the other States that came to assist South Carolina, against Lincoln's treasonable proceedings against South Carolina, cannot be guilty of treason; because no case had been brought against the proceedings of those who claimed a right to secede from the Union. By law, and in the

eye of the law, every one is considered innocent until they are found guilty. Now, Lincoln had no right to decide the case, whatever, and no authority to do any thing, only what was delegated by the Constitution, but he was acting according to the platform adopted by Mr. Calhoun, to decide for himself, choose his own mode and manner of defence, like Mr. Calhoun's party did in their convention.

Now, a Convention under the Constitution has no power given to it to judge any case whatever; their power is all delegated, like all other agents appointed or elected by the people. And all the power that was delegated to them was, to adopt amendments, but no power to establish a single one of them. It had no power but to propose amendments, and then it required the consent of three-fourths of the States before it could be adopted; so that Lincoln's decision and Calhoun's, each are deciding for themselves, choosing their own mode and measure of defence stand on the same ground or footing—both pretending that they are contending for the rights of the Union, when both are claiming the rights of monarchs over the people more than any king, prince or potentate in any civilized land on earth.

Lincoln had as much right to decide for himself, and choose his own mode and measure of redress, because he was President, as Calhoun and his party had a right to decide for themselves, and choose their own mode and measure of redress in a convention. So they both stand on the same foundation, without a shadow of right or authority. So that these two parties cannot be anything but *mobs*, and I have always been of the opinion that they were acting in concert, in order to get the people under military power, so that they could force them under a monarchical government, (as Mr. Calhoun said in his book on governments.)

Now, all the people of every State, who are members of the Union, have a right to protect the people of the South from the robbery of Lincoln, in accordance with the agreement under the Constitution, because you will see that this Convention had no authority to throw them out; nor do I consider any of them out. The people never gave their consent to go out, and the whole of the convention movement was unconstitutional, null

and void, and Lincoln's is the same. This was as great and tyrannical an assumption of power, both by Lincoln's party and Calhoun's party, as ever existed since the globe was created; and it is high time that the people should assume the authority of their own government, and act in accordance with it, and protect each other against those great usurpers, North and South.

But let us stop the shedding of blood—call for a peace convention, and call for an armistice. Let there be a member from every county, elected by the people in every State throughout the Union. And let a platform be laid down by wise and good men, or by one man, and let the principles be laid down to give strict justice and equality to each member of the Union, without any regard to parties. There can be but two parties, one right, and the other wrong. So if we can arrange and establish such laws as a standard of government, that will protect right against wrong, and provide a security for every member of the Union. For we are not bound under the Union to protect any but those who are members of the Union. If every member can be protected in his just rights against wrong, and made secure in his rights, that is the kind of government, I think, will, or ought to suit everybody. Such a platform as that I have written, or have attempted to write out, and for those express purposes.

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